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THE LIFE AND WORKS of AMIR KHUSRAU

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1929

by

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MIRZA (M.W.)
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ABSTRACT

Khusrau was born in Patyali, a small town (otherwise known as Muminabad) in the district of Etah in $\frac{651 \text{ A.H.}}{1253 \text{ A.D.}}$. He belonged to the Turkish Hazaras of Lachin who migrated to India during the time of the Mongol upheaval from their ancestral home in Transoxiana or Khorasan. His father, Amir Saifuddin Mahmud, held a high position in the court of Iltutmish and married a daughter of Imad-ul-Mulk, a great noble of the time. Khusrau was the second of three sons born of this union and displayed very early signs of a great poetic talent. After his father's death, about the year 658 H. he was brought up by his grand-father Imad-ul-Mulk. When his grandfather died Khusrau attached himself to Ala'uddin Kish-lu Khan, a nephew of Balban and a great noble, famed far and wide for his generosity. Later he went to Samana with Balban's son Bughra Khan and had to travel with that prince to Oudh where Balban marched to quell a rebellion. On his return he was invited by Prince Muhammad, Bughra Khan's elder brother, to go to Multan with him. The poet consented and remained in Multan till the prince's death in a battle against the Mongols. He then returned to Delhi and went later to Oudh with Amir Ali Sarjandar. Subsequently he was made a court poet by Kaikobad and held office under Jalaluddin, Ala'uddin, Mubarak Shah, and Ghiyathuddin Tughlaq. He became a disciple of Nizamuddin Auliya in his later life and died in the year $\frac{725 \text{ H.}}{1325 \text{ A.D.}}$.

His poetical and prose works consist of five diwans, five historical mathnawis, a Khamsa, some Hindi verses, Tarikh-i-'Alai, Ij'az-i-Khusravi and Afzal-ul-Fawaid. Some works ascribed to him have apparently been lost. He was a great musician too, and introduced several new melodies into Indian music, earning for himself the title of Nayak.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSIAN POETRY IN INDIA BEFORE THE TIME OF KHUSRAU.

Persian poetry produced in India has always been looked upon by modern scholars with a mild contempt. They consider it to be a counterfeit, a spurious imitation of the genuine products of Shiraz and Ispahan,[1] and consequently it has never received the attentions so lavishly bestowed upon the poetry of Persia. Yet, it is a fact that India has produced almost as large a number of Persian poets as Persia herself, and that some of them have left as deep an impress upon Persian literature in general as any poet of the sister-country. Whatever one may say, moreover, about the poetry of later times, it is fallacious to assume that there could be any essential difference in the language or spirit of the early poetry produced in Ganja, Shiraz or Nishapur on the one hand and Lahore or Delhi on the other, for ever since the Ghaznawid conquest of norther India all these places formed a united whole and the geographical distinctions of the present day did not exist at all. Persia, as we know her to-day, is a much later creation.

When the Ghaznavids established themselves in India in the 11th century, Lahore became an important centre, politically as well as socially, equal to Ghazna itself, and there was a free and profuse intercourse between the different parts of

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(1) Thus Browne says: "This Persian literature produced in India, has not, as a rule, the real Persian flavour, the 'blas' as the Irish call it, which belongs to the indigenous product." (Pers. Lit. under the Tartar Dom.,p. 107.)

Persia, Afghanistan, Transoxiana, Khorasan and the Punjab, and the literary language was bound to be the same in all these places. This language, of course, was Persian. Nobles and scholars migrated to the conquered territory, settled down there, temporarily or permanently, and laid the first foundations of the Indo-Persian culture that was to find its highest perfection in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the time of the great Moghuls, and, naturally, these early settlers were the first to produce Persian poetry in India.

To trace, then, the origin of Persian verse in India, we must turn to this age. Unfortunately, very little of the literature of that period has been preserved, and, except in the case of one or two poets, all that has been left of its poetry is in the form of laconic extracts available in some histories and biographies. Among the earliest poets the most outstanding names are those of the two contemporaries, Abul Faraj Rûyanî and Mas'ûd-i-Sa'd.

The former, according to Badaoni,(1) was born in Rûyan, a village near Lahore, while according to another version his native place was Rûna,(2) a suburb of Nishapur, but there is no doubt that he lived most of his life in or about Lahore, which, according to al-'Awfî, was in those days the proudest of all districts "in its unlimited learning and scholarship."(3) He is said to have left behind him a dîwân of qasîdas comprising two thousand 'baits', most of the poems being in praise of his royal patron Sultan Ibrahîm bin Mas'ûd. Anwarî, it is said, had with him always a copy of his dîwân, and imitated his style. A jealous rivalry between him and Mas'ud-i-Sa'd led to the latter's confinement for ten years in the fortresses of

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(1) Muntakhabut-tawârîkh, I, 37. Cf. also Lubbal-albâb, II, 241; Chahâr Maqâla, p. 142.

(2) Majma'-ul-fusahâ, I, 70.

(3) Lubb-al-albâb, II, 241.

Su, Dhak and Nay.[1]

Mas'ud-i-Sa'd was certainly a greater poet than his rival, and according to an old tradition left three dîwâns, one each in Arabic, Persian and Hindi.[2] He was born and brought up in Lahore, for which city he contracted a deep and affectionate attachment.[3] His Persian dîwân is the only one of the three that has survived, and shows that even in those early days the poetry of India had reached a very high level. Some of his poems, written in his captivity, are full of deep and stirring pathos. One very fine poem describes his separation from his wife on the occasion of his departure on a journey, and is an exquisite piece of lyrical poetry, rarely equalled in excellence by any Persian poem.[4]

After these two poets we have a long gap, and it is only in the time of Shamsuddin Iltutmish that we read of another notable poet, Amir Rûhânî. Little, however, is known about him, except that he came to Delhi from Bukhara during the Mongol upheaval, and composed qasîdas in praise of Shamsuddîn.[5] But his successor, Shihâb-i-Muhmira or Mutmira,[6] who lived in the time of Ruknuddîn bin Iltutmish, is better known. He belonged to Badaon or Madâran and was recognised to be a master by Fakhr-ul-Mulk 'Amîd al-Nunki[7] (?), who was himself an elegant poet. Specimens of his poetry are preserved in various biographies and Khusrau himself imitated some of his

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(1) He was involved in a conspiracy formed by the son of the king. See Chahâr Maqâla (pp. 140-145) for a brief biographical sketch.

(2) Lubbul-albâb II, p. 246; Majma'-ul-fusahâ and Khusrau's Ghurra.

(3) He says in a poem: ای لاوہور و ملک بی من چگونہ بی بی آفتاب جہانبان روشن چگونہ

(4) The poem is in praise of Mahmûd bin Ibrahim, and begins:
روز وداع از در اندر آمد دلبر ۔ لب از لب عشق خشک و دیدہ ز خون تر

(5) Badaoni, I. 65.

(6) The name is given differently by different authorities.

(7)

poems.[1] It was, in fact, due to the great fame and renown of Khusrau that so little is known of his poetry for, in the words of Badaoni, "after the appearance of the cavalcade of the king of poets, the poetry of his predecessors became bedimmed like stars at the rise of the sun."[2]

Shamsuddin Dabîr, who later became one of the patrons of Khusrau, was the foremost of the poets in Nâsir-uddin Mahmûd's court. He was a great scholar also, and held a high position in the time of Mahmûd's successor Balban, who appointed him the 'munshî' of the province of Bengal and Kamrud under his younger son, Bughra Khan. He was a generous patron of art and literature, and his assemblies were a popular rendezvous of poets. Khusrau speaks of him gratefully in several of his works. Badaoni gives some specimens of his poetry which indicate a very high level of artistic ability.[3]

We now come to the time of Khusrau himself, in which our poet stands head and shoulders above his contemporaries.

The only other poet of first order in this age was undoubtedly his friend Amir Hasan, nicknamed 'the Sa'dî of India' on account of the purity and flowing simplicity of his ghazels. But even Hasan failed to achieve the great charm of Khusrau's lyrical poems, while he had absolutely no chance of approaching him in qasida or Mathnawî. Like Khusrau, he became a devout disciple of Nizâmuddin Auliya in his old age, and died at an advanced age in Daulatabad where he had to go against his will, like so many other inhabitants of Delhi in the reign of the eccentric monarch Muhammad Tughlaq. He has

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(1) Khusrau says in a qasida:

در عدارای (بداون) مست برخیز و شتاب منتره: بلبنو واز نغمه عرجان دہلی گرنوا

(2) Badaoni, p. 70, seq.; Majma-ul-Fusaha, I, 304.

(3) Muntakhab-ul-Tawarîkh, I, 94.

left behind a dîwân comprising qasidas, ghazels, mathnawîs, fragments, and quatrains.

We learn the names of several other poets of this age from Barni, Badaoni and Firishta. Thus there were Muayyad Jâjurmi, Amir Arsalân Kâtibî, Qâzî Mugîth Hânsawi, Bâqî Khatîb, Shihâb, Sa'd Mantaqî, 'Abîd etc. Khusrau had often to complain against the last two for their behaviour towards himself, prompted, no doubt, by jealousy. Little or no traces of their poetry, however, have been left for us to of their merits. But it would be safe to presume that none of them rose to the level of Khusrau; nor, in fact, did any of his immediate successors.(1) ~~do so either.~~

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(1) The best known ofthese is Badr Shashi or Chachi, who was the court poet of Muhammad Tughlaq.

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THE LIFE

Chapter I.

Origin of Amîr Khusrau

When writing the biography of a literary person, it is impossible to ignore the political conditions of his age; the state of the country and also of the society in which he was born and grew up, in which he imbibed the first ideas that moulded his juvenile mind and helped to mature his genius to its full vigour and bloom. Every man is influenced unconsciously by his surroundings, and a poet or a writer, as he is essentially a thinker and so looks at things more carefully and deeply, turning them over in his mind, trying to draw conclusions from them or to explain them, is influenced much more than a person of ordinary intellect and common insight. In fact the whole character and nature of a writer's work is affected by the events of his epoch and reflects the spirit of the time he lived in. A Homer living in the time of heroes that vied with their gods in courage and power, that were almost demi-gods, would naturally produce an epic like the Iliad that stirs the life-less heart and infuses into it a spirit to do 'one more brave deed before death,' to defy fate, to scorn hardships and to conquer all obstacles; while a Dante living in an age of decay and disruption, a period of political enfeeblement and moral emaciation, would tend to become more moody, more introspective, more apt to brood on things beyond this life and to create with his wonderful imagination and sublime genius, not a story of brave deeds and wars, of long voyages and heroic adventures, but a morbid tale of hell and heaven.

Mutanabbî[1] and Abû Tammâm[2] saw with their own eyes the heroic deeds of their patrons, their 'holy' wars, their successful contests against their enemies, and so their poetry is manly and heroic: it almost has in it the ring of the spear, the twang of the bow and the clatter of the sword. But what could one expect from Abû Nu'âs[3] or Ab-ul-'Atâhiya,[4] who lived in a time when the kingdom of Baghdad was flowing with 'milk and honey', when the sword had been hung up and the armour stowed away and in the court of the Caliph one heard only the pleasant melody of the 'rebâb' or the amusing jokes of jesters like Abû Dulâma? What could one expect from them except an effeminate poetry, lyrics descriptive of love and pleasure, of the charms of the beautiful damsels and the virtues of the glittering red wine, or unhealthy, sad and melancholy tirades on the vanity of this life and the need for "dying before death"? Both these poets, so different apparently are characteristic of their age. Abu Nu'âs is happy and careless because he could enjoy the pleasures that surround him, while his unlucky contemporary, unable by nature and circumstances to partake of them could only console himself by preaching a crusade against them.[5]

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(1) Abû Ṭîb al-Mutanabbî, for a long time a favourite courtier and poet-laureate of Saifuddaula, the Hamadânî of Aleppo, has sung his patron's praises and his fights against the Franks in many a glowing ode. See Nicholson: Lit.Hist. of Arabia. pp. 304-313.

(2) Abû Tammâm lived in the time of the caliphs Mamûn and Muṣta'sim. See Nicholson: pp. 129-130.

(3) Abû Nu'âs, the court poet and boon-companion of Haroun-al-rashid. For his life and poetry see Nicholson: Lit. Hist. of the Arabs. pp. 292-296.

(4) A contemporary poet. See Ibib pp. 296-303.

(5) It is said that Ab-ul-Atâhiya was a meagre, short and ugly man. Mas'ûdî relates a humourously pathetic story about his love for a beautiful slave-girl. See Mas'ûdî (Barbier de Meynard) VI. pp. 240-244 and 333.

This, true as it is in the case of writers of all ages and countries, is especially so in the case of most of the Eastern writers, for in the East, more than elsewhere, literature and art have always flourished under the fostering shadow of kings and their vassals. Most of the Eastern poets particularly were no more than bards; bards of a very high genius and lofty imagination very often, but all the same bards. Their chief care was to sing the praises of their patrons to raise them up to the skies, to immortalise, as they would say, their names. No doubt they have also produced poetry of a much higher order than such panegyrics, a poetry as full of love and emotion, of deep human feeling and universal appeal as could be found anywhere. Yet it has to be admitted that this sort of poetry was only a subordinate branch, a foster child, a product of the few stolen moments when the poet for a short while ceased to be a courtier, put off his khil'at and laid his ʿaṣâ in a corner and was a man more than anything else.

Yet it would be wrong to imagine that these high-flown and roseate panegyrics are worthless. Apart from their aesthetic value as wonderful specimens of artistic sense, elegant taste and mastery of a language, they are in many cases of great historic importance. They very often describe, not only how the king or the noble slaughtered single-handed a whole army of his vile foes, or how his horse scarcely deigned to tread on the sordid earth and vied with the north wind in swiftness, or how his throne was placed so high that thought itself had to pile up the nine skies one (1)

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(1) Thus Ẓahîr says of Qizil Arsalân:

نه کرسیٔ فلک نهد اندیشه زیر پا ؛ تا بوسه بر رکاب قزل ارسلان دهد ؛

"Thought places, under its feet, the nine celestial chairs so that it may bestow a kiss on the throne of Qizil Arsalan" and Khusrau replying says of ʿAlâ-ud-din Khiljî:

اندیشه کی رسد که ببوسد رکاب شه ؛ گر بوسه بر رکاب قزل ارسلان دهد ؛

"How can thought ever reach the spur of (my) king to kiss it: it may have kissed the throne of Qizil Arsalân

above another ere it could kiss its pedestal, or how his bright visage shamed the moon and compelled the sun to hide its ugly face among the clouds - but also they describe, albeit in a very coloured and distorted way sometimes, some of the real historical events that actually took place before or during the lifetime of a poet. Such poems are of immense importance for augmenting the historical data necessary to construct our history of a particular period, and make it, at the same time, more than ever, imperative for a student of their authors to study carefully the history connected with their times.

In the case of a poet like Amîr Khusrau, then, whose life was intimately connected with kings and princes, who lived to see the reigns of more than seven kings, accompanied several of them in their campaigns and held offices under at least five, we shall, of course, have to consider the political history of his time, - to follow briefly the chain of events extending over a little more than threescore years, since about 1253 A.D. (the year of his birth) to 1325 A.D., when the old monarch Tughlak Shah was mysteriously killed by the fall of a pavilion built for his reception by his son and heir, Mohd. Tughlak.

But to commence our narrative, we must go back about a hundred years and study some of the events that occurred outside India, the land of his birth, but which were destined to exercise a profound influence on its history, for Amîr Khusrau's ancestors came to India from Central Asia, Transoxania or Khorasan, a land that was, so to say, the cradle of an upheaval unparallelled, perhaps, in the history of the world.

Chengiz Khan, the 'cause of God' as Muslim historians describe him rose from Transoxania in the first half of the thirteenth century with his wild hosts, his lean, bony,

wolfish soldiers clumsily dressed, ill-equipped, riding on horses that looked like donkeys, and shook to its very foundations the whole Islamic world.(1) The Mongol hosts conquered all before them. They came, they slaughtered and burnt, they destroyed and devastated and left the rich plains and fine valleys of the Islamic countries like a field over which has passed a storm of locusts. The mosques were defiled, the palaces razed to the ground, the libraries full of precious manuscripts consigned to fire. One Islamic monarch alone, the gallant Jellaluddin of Khwarizm who succeeded his ill-starred father Muhammad Shah, waged a long and determined struggle, as heroic as it was desperate, against the Tartar fury. Khwarizm Shah's dominions extended over "a large area from the Ural Mountains to the Persian Gulf, and from the Indus almost to the Euphrates and included the whole of Persia with the exception of Khuzistan and Fars."(2) Bit by bit, however, he was forced back. City after city fell before the irresistible Tartar onsets and the gallant monarch had to flee to India to save his life, whence he returned to enjoy a brief spell of power only to meet a sad death in 1231 A.D. at the hands of a Kurdish mountaineer.(3)

Now as we know Chengiz Khan's vast empire, founded on the ruins of the old civilisation, comprised among other regions Transoxania, situated mainly between the Sir and Amu rivers, but including also on the north-east the hill-ranges and steppes lying beyond the right bank of the Sir, east of the Kipchak plains and west of the lakes Issigkul

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(1) See Browne: Persia under the Tartar Dom: p. 5 seq and V. I. pp. 197-198. See also Tarikh-ul-Fakhri. (Ed. Ahlwardt) p. 97.

(2) See Browne: Lit. Hist. of Persia II 426.

(3) Ibid p. 447. For a contemporary account of this gallant monarch See the history written by his secretary and attendant Muhammad al-Nasawi, translated and edited by O. Houdas. ("Histoire du Sultan Djelaleddin Mankobirti." Paris 1891. 2 vols.).

and Alanor. Towards the east the empire included the greater part of the country now known as Chinese Turkestan, Farghana or Khokhand and Badakhshan, while towards the south it embraced Kunduz, Balkh and at the outset Khorasan, "a country which at that time spread eastward and beyond Herat and Ghazni, and southward to Makran. This was perhaps the most extensive appanage of all and within its limits were to be found the greatest variety of races and tribes and the largest diversity of modes of life. It comprised on the one hand, some of the richest agricultural districts peopled by settled inhabitants far advanced in Asiatic civilisation and some of the most flourishing cities in Asia, while on the other hand, some of the rudest hill-tribes or Hazâras as they were called then, had their homes in the southern highlands."(1)

It was these hill-men or Hazâras that swelled mostly the Tartar armies of Chengiz Khan. But we must not suppose that the term Hazâra denoted any particular race. Thus in the Tarîkh-i-Rashîdî we find Hazâra used for hill-men or mountaineers without reference to its original meaning (which we shall presently consider) or to any racial consideration. In fact as Raverty(2) explains Hazâras were not a tribe but simply soldiers of Chengiz Khan's army recruited from various tribes, Moghuls or Turks, divided into groups of one thousand each, and so 'hazâra' is merely a Persian or Tajik rendering of the term 'ming' (a thousand). Chengiz Khan's army, for instance, consisted of several such divisions. It is probable, however, that these 'hazâras' had descriptive names derived either from the names of their chiefs or of the particular region to which they belonged. Raverty, thus, mentions the

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(1) Tarîkh-i-Rashîdî (Ed. Elias and D. Ross) p. 30.

(2) Raverty. Tahaqât-i-Nâsirî pp. 1093, 1094,1095 and Index.

(3) Re the derivation of the term from 'hazâr' (a thousand) it is interesting to note a verse of Amir Khusrau himself: (Ind.Off. ms of Kulliyat: No 1187: fol. 637b):

؎ گر ز کافر بود هزار سوار ؛ چشم تو میر آن هزاره بود ؎

"If there be a thousand paynim horsemen, thy (wicked) eye would be the chief of that 'hazara'."

names of several of the Hazâras that were to be found in Chengiz Khan's armies, and Hamdullah al-Mustawfi makes mention of the Hazâras of Shâdî and Aughân as living in the north and south of Persia respectively.(1) This, again, shows that the term 'hazâra' was neither a racial or ethnological nor a topographical designation but indicated simply a certain type of nomadic people, generally war-like, chiefly employed as soldiers and sending quotas of thousands to their over-lords at the time of war.

But we cannot say definitely that the term, as Major Raverty explains it, was applied simply to the clans who formed the armies of Chengiz Khan or even that it originated in his time. It is quite possible that this appellation was known before this time, that 'hazâra', like another ambiguous term Turk, which we shall consider presently, embraced in its wide application a certain class of war-like tribes, who were generally in the service of warring potentates. In fact the name 'hazara', essentially a Persian and not a Turkish or Mongol word, would suggest that the term probably did not originate during the time of the Tartar conquests, for there appears to be no reason why the chronicles of the Mongols should have changed the Turkî 'ming' into the Persian 'hazâra' when they have retained in their works so many Turki words that could more conveniently, and also, perhaps, more reasonably be substituted by their more familiar Persian equivalents.(2) I am, therefore, on the whole, more inclined to interpret hazâra as a common designation of a large number of tribes, whose chief occupation was agriculture and pasturing and who furnished soldiers on the occasion of fights among

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(1) Hamdullah: Tarîkhi-Guzîda (Gibb. Mem. Series) pp. 66,67, 69 and pp. 704 and 709.

(2) See, for instance, the words, جرلغار and برلغار and قول so commonly used by Persian historians, and hosts of other Turki words.

their suzerains, and who long after they had ceased to send their quotas of 'thousands' to their masters and had settled down in countries far away from their original homes, still retained their old designations and in some cases also gave it to the country in which they happened to settle down.(1)

Now almost all the biographers of Amir Khusrau agree that he belonged to a hazara clan named Hazâra-i-Lâchîn and that he was of Turkish origin.(2) Amir Khusrau himself nowhere mentions that he belonged to a hazâra clan, which is not strange; for as we have already seen 'harẫa' was not any racial or ethnographical designation and hence hardly worth much importance. He, however, says explicitly on various occasions that he was a Turk and that his ancestral profession was military service.(3) His very title, 'Turk-ullah'(4) (The Turk or Soldier of God)(5) bestowed upon him by his religious preceptor, the saint Nizâmuddin Auliya, shows that the poet was of Turkish origin.

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(1) Note, for example, the Hazâra country in India. See Imp. Gaz. of India Vol. XIII p. 76 seq, and Encyc. of Islam. V II pp. 297 -298. Curiously enough some authorities misled by the fact that 'hazâra' is both the name of a people as well as a country have stated that Amir Khusrau's ancestors came from 'Hazâra'. See,for instance: Sprenger Cat. of Oudh. Kings Lib. p.465 and Ency.of Islam vol.II. p. 980.

(2) See Daulat Shah pp. 238; Jami: Nafahât-ul-Uns (Ed. W. Nassau Lees, Calcutta 1859) p. 710.; Khizâna-i-'Âmira of Âzâd (Brit.Mus.) p. 209; Dara Shikoh: Safînat-ul-Awliya (Agra 1853) p.168; Gulzâr-i-Ibrâhîm (Brit.Mus. ms.) fol. 262. Haft Iqlîm of Amîn Râzî (India Off. ms.). fol. etc. etc.

(3) See, for instance, Iʿjâz-i-Khusrawî: (Risala IV p. 97):

"Although I by birth a Turk and a soldier . . ."

and again in the Munâzara the pen and the sword" (Ibid Risala V p.40).

(4) Khusrau, alluding to this title says, addressing his preceptor: بر زبانت چون خطاب بندہ ترک اللہ رفت ؛ دست ترک اللہ بگیر و ہم بالله سپار

"As you have been pleased to call your servant the 'Turk of God', hold his hand and give him in God's custody"!

(5) It should be noted here that the word 'Turk' is often used in the sense of a soldier, thus Mars, the God of War, is often called: 'Turk-i-falak', "the Turk of the Sky."

We need not enter here into any long discussion about the exact signification of the term Turk, especially as it has been so well and lucidly discussed in the Introduction to Tarîkh-i-Rashîdî of Mirza Haider Dughlat by Elias abd D. Ross.(1) We may only explain here that the term has been indifferently used by the Persian historians in a dual sense. It is sometimes employed in an ethnographical sense and denotes a certain race which apparently inhabited parts of Central Asia, — Transoxiana, Khurasan etc., at the time of the Mongol invasion and supremacy, and which in physiognomy and other personal and social features and characteristics differed considerably from the Mongols. On the other hand the term is very often used in a sociological sense and covers all the nomadic people of Central Asia who lived in steppes and hills, as opposed to Tajiks or Taziks, the civilised town-dwellers. Even Turkish writers like Abul Ghâzî have made this dual use of the word,(2) and it is interesting to note that even in modern times in Turkey the word 'Turk', or rather 'Turuk' seems often to have been employed in the sense of a peasant or boor, perhaps like the Arabic word "I'râbi."(3) In the case of Amîr Khusrau's ancestors, then, it is possible that they may have been Turks in either of the two senses of the word. That they are described as 'hazâras' would suggest a nomadic origin, but at the same time, although unfortunately we have not much material to form a definite idea of the physiognomy of the poet or of his ancestors, it is certain that they were not mongols — were quite different from the

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(1) See: Târîkh-i-Rashîdî: Lond. 1895 pp.72 seq. (Introduction).

(2) See Ibid pp. 84 and 89 (Introduction).

(3) Thus Bianchi, in his dictionary, says: "Turcs, peuple des Turcs ou des Turcomans; Turc, Turcoman; Rustre, grossier, barbare. Le Turcs de l'empire Ottoman ne veulent pas se appeller de ce mon, mais de celui de عثمانلو

"uncouth barbarians", whom Khusrau ridicules so severely and humorously in his sketch of the captive Mongols brought to the court of Kaikobad.(1) They were, in short, Turks in the generally accepted sense of the word; they belonged to the original inhabitants of Turkestan, distinct from the Mongols.

We shall now consider briefly the name Lâchîn or Lâjîn, as it is sometimes written. Lâchîn, a Turkish word and meaning a falcon was quite a popular name among the Turks of Central Asia. Most of the biographers describe Lâchîn to be the name of the tribe to which Khusrau's father belonged, but according to some it was the name of his father. Amir Khusrau says little more about his origin than that he was a Turk, but he frequently styles himself as "Khusraw-i-Lâchîn"(2), literally "Khusrau of Lâchîn", which may mean "Son of Lâchîn", for this sort of 'iḍâfat' is very often used to denote the father's name, the usual 'ibn' (=son) being ommitted. Masʿûd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmân, for instance, means Masʿûd son of Saʿd, son of Salmân.(3) But, as Mirza Muhammad explains, the following name may be not necessarily that of the father, but of the grandfather or still remoter ancestor also.(4) It is more likely that the latter is the case with the name Khusrawi-Lâchîn, for Khasrau mentions his father on various occasions as Saif or Saif-i-Shamsî, and at one place as Sultâni-i-Shamsi(5), but nowhere does he give his name as Lâchîn.

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(1) See infra

(2) See for instance Ijâz-i-Khusrawî II p. 242, and ibid V, letter 2, where he adds also Sultânî to his name.

(3) See Chahâr Maqâla (Hawâshi by Mirza Mohd.) p. 142.

(4) Concerning this 'iḍâfat' see also Raverty's interesting article in Tabaqât-i-Nâsiri. vol. II. Appendix.

(5) Dîbâcha of Tuhfat-ul-Sighar. See infra.

This last was apparently the name of a chief of the clan to which Khusrau belonged, probably that of an ancestor of his, who gave his name to his tribe. Khusrau, according to Sultan Husain Mirza and Jâmî[1] belonged to a noble family and so it is most probable that Lâchîn, the head of the tribe, was his ancestor, a grandfather or perhaps a great grandfather.

The next point that attracts our attention is the question: where did these Hazâras of Lâchîn live before they left their ancestral home and migrated to India and at what time did they, or Khasrau's father, come to this country? Most of the biographers assert that the original home of the tribe, or at least its home at the time of the Mongol upheaval, was near Balkh,[2] the 'Arch of Islam' But a few, notably Daulat Shah, declare that the tribe had its original home in Kish or the environs of Qarshî and Pymurgh.[3] Daulat Shah says: "Amir Khusrau was of Turkish descent. It is said that his ancestral home was Kish, now known as the Qubbat-ul-Khadra[4] (The Green Dome), while some say that he belonged to the Hazâras of Lâchîn who were living in the environments of Qarshi and Pymurgh and that during the disturbed times (فترات) of Chengiz Khan, these people fleeing from Mawara-un-Nahr came to India and settled in Delhi. Amir Khasrau's father was the chief and leader of

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(1) See Nafhat-ul-Uns (Ed. W.N.Lees 1859) p. 710.

(2) See Amîn Râzî (Haft Iqlîm: Ind.Off. ms.); Gulzâr-i-Ibrâhim (Brit. M. ms. fol. 262); Safînat-ul-Awliya (Dara Shikoh: Agra (1853: p. 168) Khizana-i-'Amira (Azâd Bilgrâmi: B.M. pp. 209 seq).

(3) Daulat Shah (p. 238) and Atashkada 'Lutf 'Alî Âzur) Bombay 1175. p. 341.

(4) Surely Daulat Shah has here paraphrased the popular name of Kish, Shahri Sabz. I can find this name in no other book. See Note on Kish on the following page.

these people."(1) Now Kish, or more correctly Kishsh, now generally known as Shahri-Sabz (not Qubbat-ul-Khadra as Daulat says) stands on a small stream known as Kushka Darya that runs almost parallel to the Sughd river, both ending in marshes. In the middle ages, according to Ibni Haukal, it had a castle, was strongly fortified, and occupied, exclusive of its suburbs, a square mile of ground, the Kish territory extending over four days journey across in every direction and being famed for its fertility. In the fourth century of the hegira the city stood on the main stream, of the river now called Kushka, that was known by the name of Nahr-ul-Qassârîn which arose in the Jabl Sayam. Nahr-i-Arsûd, running to the north was crossed, one league beyond the road to Samarkand by Jay Rud; the Khushk Rud ran to the south, one league from Kish; while another stream Khuzar Rud lay eight leagues beyond this. These streams after irrigating the various districts around Kish flowed together and became a single stream which passed by the city of Nasaf or Qarshi. In later days Kish acquired fame as the birth-place of Timur, who rebuilt the city, and whose place Âk-Sarâi in it was his favourite residence.(2) It was about

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(1) See Le Strange: Lands of the Eastern Caliphate p. 469 See also following Note. Prof. Habîb in his 'Life and works of Khasrau' converts the name into 'Takash' (p.6). There is no place of that name in Mawara-un-Nahr. Takash was the title of one of the Khwarizmi Kings, Il Arsalan.

(2) For Kish See Le Strange (Camb.1905) p.469 and Ency. of Islam V.II p.786, where the name is transcribed as Kash, the reason advanced being that in old histories it is often made to rhyme with 'dilkash' charming. That phrases like دلکش کش etc often occur in those histories, is true. See for instance Yazdi: Zafar Nâmeh (Bib.Ind)p.301 and p.801 حلکا ج دلکش کش and V II p.18: (ولی اصل آہن لشکر کینہ کش ؛ زتوران زمین پر دہ بخصص کش) But I prefer the reading Kish or Kishsh as given by the old Arab geographers. There is no harm in reading as the alliteration aimed at still holds good and in the verse cited above 'Kina Kash' can be read "Kina Kish". According to Yazdi the city became known as Shar-i-Sabz on account of the fertility and greenness of the lands in and around it in spring (p. 301 V 1) and that as a home of learning and scholars it was known as 'qubbat-ul-'Ilm.' It is these two names which Daulat Shah apparently confuses into "qubbat-ul-Khadra'. Timur built the "White Palace' in it in 781. (See ibid).

this time that the city became known as Shahri-Sabz (The Green city).[1] Karshi or Nasaf was situated, as we have noted above more than a hundred miles down stream below Kish. It has generally been called Nasaf by the mediaeval Arabs and Nakhshab by the Persians. It was a Mongol prince Kapak Khan, who after the Mongol invasion (13th Cent. A.D.) built a palace here and gave it the name of Ḳarshi. This city also had a strong castle and extensive suburbs. The third name mentioned by Daulat Shah, viz Paymurgh is certainly a misnomer for Maymurgh, mentioned by Arab geographers as a suburb of Kish.

All these places of course, are in the country known as Mawara-un-Nahr or Transoxiana, and so if Daulat Shah is to be believed, the Hazâras of Lâchîn lived in this country. But the bulk of the evidence supports the theory of a home in or about Balkh. Thus Jâmî, a contemporary of Daulat Shah, and Sultan Husain Mirza Baikara both hold the latter opinion, and it is further strengthened by what we have already mentioned about Khorasan, namely that it was the home of the nomadic tribes who lived in its hills and steppes and were known as Hazâras. This would give Amir Khusrau a Khorasan origin, which I am reluctant to assign him, for it is evident from so many sarcastic remarks in his works about Khorasan that the poet was not particularly fond of that country.[2] He ridicules it, describing it as 'hell' in winter,

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(1) For Karshi: See Le Strange p. 470. Ḳarshi in Mongol dialect means a palace. See also Ency. of Islam V.II p. Nakh-Shab, of course, is the famous place where al-Muqanna' is said to have created the artificial moon, called Mâh-i-Nakhshab.

(2) "Winter should be enjoyed in India, for Khorasan (in winter) is a frozen hell." زمستان باید بهند گذراند که خراسان بود جهنم سرد

he ridicules the people, the 'bâlâis'[1], as he often calls them and he ridicules their language or rather the various dialectic peculiarities met with among them. He praises, on the other hand, the language of Mawara-un-Nahr likening it to the Persian employed in India of which he speaks so proudly.[2] It is possible, perhaps, that this bitter sarcasm for Khorasan arose out of his burning zeal for his adopted country, or rather the country adopted by his father, that he was like the new convert who is loud in praise of his new creed and equally vehement in denouncing the one he has discarded. But I am inclined to agree with Daulat Shah in this point. The description of Mawara-un-Nahr given by

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(1) Bâlâ was the name by which the Indian writers generally designated the northern provinces, Balkh, Bukhara etc., and so Khorasan, whence 'Bâlâis' the inhabitants of Bâla. In later times this word was substituted by 'vilâyat' and 'vilâyatê' denoted a thing or a person belonging to Kabul or Kandhar or to some place further north. But curiously enough in common parlance nowadays vilâyat is synonymous with Europe and especially England.

(2) This statement of Amir Khusrau is interesting from a linguistic point of view. He remarks elsewhere that the Persian used in India is the Pârsi-i-Darî. Now we know that the language of Transoxiana and also, perhaps, that of Khorasan has been described by old geographers to be 'darî'. al-Maqdasî, for example, (de Geoje p. 314) says of the language spoken in Bukhara: "As to the language of Bukhara, it is the same as that of Sughd, only there are slight variations (يحرّفُ بعضه), and they speak the Dari language." (ولهم لسان الدريّة)
Thus Amir Khusrau is probably referring to this language when he speaks of the similarity between the languages of India and Transoxiana. On the other hand he says of the Khorasanis that they have got no standard language and no settled idiom. To use his own words: The Khorasani says chi چی for چه, while some say 'Kaju' for 'Kuja'. . . . but the Persian speech in India from the river Sind to the sea-shore (i.e. the extreme south) is one tongue . . . . and this Persian of ours is the original (or pure) Persian پارسیٔ دری (See below and also the introduction).

Parsi-i-Dari, on the other hand also means 'pure Persian' — the original language without any intermixture or variations, and as such has been described to be the language of the blessed ones in Paradise. The Prophet is said to have declared that 'the language spoken in Paradise will be Arabic or the Dari Persian.' (See Persian Dictionaries like Burhan-i-Qati etc.).

historians and geographers, a country inhabited by Turks, handsome, brave, generous and soldiers by birth would induce one to regard it as the home of a war-like people like Khusrau's ancestors. Al-Istakhari[1], for instance, says of its inhabitants, after a description of their generosity and hospitality: "As to their courage and bravery, there is not among the Islamic peoples any with greater share of fighting against the infidels, and that is because all boundaries of Mawara-un-Nahr are formed by the lands of the unbelievers, . . . and also it is well-known that there is no people among the Moslems braver than these Turks - they are the rampart and bulwark (ثغر) of Islam against the (infidel) Turks. . . . With all this, they are the best of people in paying obedience to their elders and the most gentle in serving their superiors and their equals. It was this that induced the caliphs to send for men from Mawara-un-Nahr, and their armies consisted of Turks on account of the latter's superiority on all classes of men in point of courage, formidability, bravery and 'élan, and the peasants of Mawara-un-Nahr were their generals, their attendants and their favourite servants."[2]

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(1) Al-Istakharî pp. 286-87.

(2) That Mawara-un-Nahr continued in much later times to be a rich mine for soldiers and warriors, eager to get an opportunity for offering their services to ambitions princes, can be seen from what the author of Kitâb-i-Yamînî says (Tr. Reynolds. Lond. 1858 p. 450) while describing Mahmud Ghaznawi's preparations for the conquest of Kannauj: "In those days nearly 20 thousand men had come from the plains of Mawara-un-Nahr through zeal for Islam and they sat down waiting for the Sultan's movements, striking their numerous swords and uttering the shouts of holy war." See also infra and the verse quoted above from Yazdi i.e.
ولی اصل آن لشکر کینه کش ؛ ز توران زمین بود بہ خصیص کش ؛
"But the main source of that ferocious army was Turkestan especially Kish," (of Timour's army) also illustrates the point in question.

In my opinion, therefore, the original home of the Lâchin Hazâras was in Transoxiana. Being generally a nomadic people, however, they may have moved on to Balkh in Khorasan, possibly during their migration to India. Thus starting from somewhere near Kish, the tribe apparently first came to Qarshî and then lower down to Balkh, whence they ultimately proceeded further south and crossing the Indus entered India early in the thirteenth century as we shall presently see.

With the meagre information at our disposal concerning this tribe, we cannot form any idea of the exact time of this migration into India, but we know definitely that Khusrau's father was in the service of Shamsuddin Iltutmish.(1) We have reasons also to believe that his people had been in India for some time before he went to the capital and offered his services to that prince. Daulat Shah, while describing Jelaluddin Khwarism Shah's flight before the Mongol armies and his brief career in India after the famous dash through the boiling waters of the Indus accompanied by only a few faithful survivors of his armies, says that a number (جمعی) of the Lâchîn Hazâras, to whom belonged Amir Khusrau's father joined him (Jelaluddin) and (together) they conquered the fortress of Kargasbâl.(2) This statement unfortunately, is not supported by any other authority, but there is no reason why we should doubt Daulat Shah's assertion. Several hazâra tribes, in fact, had migrated to India during the time of Chengiz Khan's conquests and settled in

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(1) See infra The name of this king is spelt otherwise in various ways: Altmish, Altimish, Iltimish, Iyal-timish, etc. But the reading il-tutmish may be regarded as finally established by the following verse of Amir Khusrau in which the exact translation is given, namely 'he has seized the world.'
جہان بقوت او میگرفت التمش ؛ کہ بر کشیدہ خرابش ز قبضۂ قدرت ؛

(2) Daulat Shah: Tezkira p.146. No other historian mentions the name Kargasbâl. I think that it is rather the name of some petty Hindu chieftain, (bâl being a misnomer for pâl) than that of a place.

the north-western provinces. Thus although Abul Fazl asserts that the hazâras of India were brought to that country by Amir Timur, there is evidence to believe that they had settled there in much earlier times, and that Amir Timur only sought their help in his campaign in India and formed his garrisons out of them.(1) It is quite likely that the Hazâras, a warlike people and Turks by descent should have sided with their kindred people, the followers of Timur. As a matter of fact, they were always eager to offer their services as mercenaries to suitable patrons. It is quite likely, therefore, that the Hazâras of Lâchîn had settled in the north-west parts of India along with other hazâras before Jelaluddin crossed the Indus(2) and that looking upon him as a hero and a bulwark against the heathen hordes, their common enemy, they were glad to join him in his distressed condition and to help him in securing for himself a temporary refuge in India. In any case it is certain that these Hazâras came to India during the time of Chengiz Khan and some of them moving further south-east sought employment with the Sultan of Delhi, Shamsuddin Il-tutmish, and among these latter was Khusrau's father Amir Saifuddîn Mahmûd.

The Mongol fury thus that wasted countries and upset thrones, that wrenched crowns off the heads of 'kings descendants of kings' and pulled down palaces and castles

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(1) See Ency. of Islam. vol. II.

(2) This event occurred in the year 619 . See Târîkh-i-Jahânkushâ (V.1. p.107) and al-Nasawî (Ed. O.Houdas) pp. 85 seq. of text and p.141 seq. of translation (vol.II) Note that al-Nasawi mentions several Turkish tribes who had joined the army of Jelaluddin. According to him Jelaluddin fought Zâna (probably a mistake for Râna) Chatra of Shatra of Judi (Koh-i-Jud) and then Nâsiruddin Qubâcha of Multan. See also Raverty (V.1.p.293 N.5); Habeeb-us-Siyar (vol. II. part IV p.187) and Elliot (II. 549) Shatra is evidently a misnomer for Sumra, as the Sumras ruled parts of Sind at that time.

sacred for centuries, so that the sound of their fall resounded all over the world, hurled, in its wild career, a handful of simple warriors from their peaceful abode to a strange land, and thus, incidentally, gave to India a poet the like of whom she had never produced before and in all probability will never produce again.

Khusrau's father, whom the poet as we have seen above styles simply as Saifi-Shamsi, or Sultan-i-i-Shamsi, was named Amir Saifuddîn Mahmûd, and as he belonged to the tribe of Lâchîn he seems often to have been designated "Amîr-i-Lâchîn."(1) In India he settled down at Patiyali,(2) a small town in the district of Etah, otherwise known as Muminpore or Mumonabad, by which in those days flowed the river Ganges, but which is now miles away from the river, and entered the service of Shamsuddin Il-tutmish, the second of the slave kings of India, whence he acquired his sobriquet of Shamsi.

Shamsuddin Il-tutmish, the favourite slave of Qutbuddîn Aybek,(3) himself a slave of Mu'izuddîn bin Sâm Mohd. the Sultan of Ghaznin and his trusted vice-regent in India, had a wonderful career. Bought as a slave with another Turk for a hundred thousand "jîtals"(4) by Qutbuddîn Aybek, he soon won the

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(1) See for instance the anecdote, related by various authorities, given on p.

(2) Raverty (T.N. Trans. p.551n) gives the position of Patiyali as lat:27°41 and long: 79°40. Abulfazd (Ain-i-Akbari: Calcutta vol. I.P.35) mentions the town in the sircar of Kannauj. That it was situated on the Ganges in the old days is proved by what Amir Khusrau says of it in (Dibacha Ghurrat-ul-Kamal: Ind.Off, ms.): "For a few days... stayed in the fortified town (قلعہ) of Muminpore commonly known as Patiyali on the bank of the Ganges. Babaoni (I.43) says: Patiyali... a town (موضع) on the bank of the Ganges and the place where Amir Khusrau was born and brought up..." See also Dara Shikoh (Safénat-ul-Auliya) who gives the other name Muminabad abd describes Patiyali to be a dependency of Sambhal; and Garcin de Tassy (Lit.Hind.)vol.1.p.299; Gulzar-i-Ibrahim.f.262

(3) Sir D.Ross has pointed out to me that Aybek meaning moon-lord would very well render the Sanskrit name Chandra Gupta.

(4) This and most of the following facts about this king I have borrowed from Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî.

favour of his master and was appointed Sarjândâr.[1] Later he was promoted to be a Mîr-i-Shikâr[2] (the master of the Hunt), and obtained successively the fiefs of Gwaliyar, Baran and Badaon and won for himself other honours and distinctions through his conspicuous bravery during his master's campaigns against the latter's enemies.

Qutbuddin Aybek dying at Lahore in the year 607 H / 1210 A.D. he was summoned by the nobles from Badaon[3] to assume the management of the kingdom. Setting aside Aybek's son Aram Shah, he soon ascended the throne of Delhi, stabilised the dominions, defeated his rival Nâsiruddîn Qubâcha and drove him to Multan, over-powered and imprisoned Sultan Tâjuddin Yulduz, another strong Turkish chief, and reduced to submission the ruler of the far-off province of Lakhnauti, Sultan Ghiyâsuddîn Iwaz Khaljî. The strong fortress of Rantambhur and Mandu (Mandawar)[4] fell before his armies in 623 H, and the Hindu rajahs were compelled to pay homage to his rising star. Finally Malik Nâsiruddin Qubâcha was hunted down to his retreat in Multan and Uchcha and the unfortunate chief ended his life by a desperate leap from the fortress of Bhakar into the river (Indus), thus leaving his successful rival to sole monarch of the country of 'Hind and Sind' as far as the shore of the sea.

Shamsuddin, a brave and generous monarch, welcomed to his capital many of the unfortunate people driven from their

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(1) For Sarjandar See Note on p.

(2) Mîr-i-Shikâr, quite a respectable post, corresponding to the modern 'Master of the Hounds', or the chief Gamekeeper.

(3) Badaon, as we have seen was his special fief, before he became king.

(4) All these places we shall have occasion to mention later on and so may be left without comment here.

homes by the Mongols. "Towards men of various sorts and degrees, Qâzis, Imâms, Muftîs and the like, and to darweshes and monks, land-owners and farmers, traders, strangers and travellers from great cities, his benefactions were universal. From the very outset of his reign and the dawn of the morning of his sovereignty in congregating eminent doctors of religion and law, venerable sayyids, maliks, amirs, sadrs and (other) great men, the Sultan used, yearly, to expend about ten millions; and people from various parts of the world he gathered together at Dihli. ... This city, through the number of the grants and unbounded munificence of that pious monarch became the retreat and resting place for the learned, the virtuous and the excellent of various parts of the world. ... And those who by the mercy of God the most High escaped from the toils of the calamities sustained by the provinces and cities of 'Ajam and the misfortunes caused by the (irruption) of infidel Mughals, made the capital - the Asylum of the Universe - of that sovereign, their asylum, refuge resting place and point of safety."(1) Thus says Minhâj-i-Sirâj in his Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî, while describing the reign of Shamsuddin Il-tutmish. And among these numerous refugees who found a shelter and a home under the fostering care of this generous sovereign was Amir Saifuddin Mahmûd who linked his own fortune, and probably those of his followers, to the growing might and prevailing sway of the slave sultan.

We do not know what position Amir Saifuddin Mahmûd held exactly, but we do know that he was an Amir,(2) held a respectable position in the army and was also probably granted some

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(1) T. N. (Tr. Raverty. vol.I.pp.598-599).

(2) Amir, or Emir, meaning originally leader or commander, is the same as the Latin Amiratus, Amiralius (whence the word Admiral. It is often abbreviated to Mir in Persian. (See Ency. of Islam (vol.I). According to Barni he got an allowance of twelve hundred tankahs annually. (Barni p.197).

fief in Patiyali. Very little is known about his career in India and his name is not mentioned by any of the contemporary or even later historians. But, if Amir Khusrau is to be believed, he must have been a man of no insignificant position, for the poet asserts: "Il-tutmish conquered the world with his (Saifuddin's) help, for he was a sword drawn by God from the scabbard of His might."(1) His marriage with the daughter of ʿImâd-ul-Mulk,(2) an important official during the reigns of Shamsuddin and his successors would also suggest that the Amir held a high and honourable position in the court of the king. He seems, moreover, to have taken an important part in the various wars his master waged against his enemies. Khusrau himself supplies the only information that has been handed down to us concerning his father's career. In his Dîbâcha to the Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl he says: "My father, Saif-i-Shamsî, who with his bright visage was the sword of the sun,(3) was famous for his bravery. A Turk is an angel only in a dream, but he was an angel when awake. Nowhere but in a dream could one see an angel coming from Bâlâ. The qualities of an angel were so deep-rooted

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(1) (Dîbâcha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl).
جہان بقوت او میگرفت التمش ؛ کہ بر کشیدہ خدایش زقبضۂ قدرت
It is interesting to note here that Khusrau is evidently punning upon the phrase 'jahan giriftan' and "al-tutmish", which, as I have tried to explain above, may be construed to mean "world-conqueror" or "jahângîr". He says in the Ashiqa (S.O.S. ms. p.57)
.... زمشرق چتر شمس الدین بر آمد ؛ کہ ہمچو صبح دومی شد جہانگیر ....
His contemporary and friend Amir Hasan says in his Fawaid-ul-Fuad (B.M. ms. fol.82): "the Sheikh mentioned the date (of the death) of Sultan Shamsuddin and recited this verse:
بہ سال ششصد و سی و پنج از ہجرت ؛ خانہ شمس شاہ جہان شمس دین عالمگیر
ʿAlamgîr and Jahângîr being, of course, equivalents.

(2) ʿImâd-ul-Mulk, enjoyed the greatest amount of power and influence during the reign of Ghiyâthuddîn Balban and we shall have to speak about him in detail later on.

(3) i.e. the shaft of the sun, or the sun-beam, punning on Saifi-Shamsi.

in his nature that he never reddened his eye[1] even for the sake of a black-eyed houri. He was rich[2] in worldly goods and (with his peity) was a 'wali' (saint)[3] in matters celestial."

This meagre information, coupled with a few more facts, supplied again by the poet himself, of which we shall avail ourselves later on, is all that we possess about Khusrau's father. The author of the Ṭabaqât-i-Nâsirî gives a fairly lengthy list of the important Shamsi "Maliks". Among them we find several with the name of Saifuddîn, but it is impossible to identify any of the latter with Khusrau's father.[4] This omission is due probably not so much to the fact that Amir Saifuddin Mahmûd was not a person of sufficient importance to be included in a list of the notables of his time as to the peculiarly circumstantiaus and somewhat desultory style

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(1) "Chashm Surkh Kardan dar chîze", to be anxious or eager to get something, to hanker after a thing or person, Khusrau uses this idiom very frequently, and so also his contemporary Hasan.

(2) "amir bud", meaning, of course, both rich and as having the title of Amir.

(3) صاحب ولایت again a pun, for ولایت both means the state of being a wali or saint, as well as a country or province whence wâli, a governor.

(4) Among these maliks is one Malik Saifuddîn Binkhân (?) Aybek Khitâi, whom I was almost tempted to identify with Khusrau's father, for he is described as a man extremely good-natured, gentle, polite and pious and at the same time famous for his bravery and courage. He is said to have met his death by a fall from horse-back in the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud, and as we shall see Khursau's father also died during this monarch's reign. But the following facts make an identification impossible: 1) the titles 'binkhân' and Khitâi are found nowhere with Amir Saifuddin's name. 2) He was not bought as a slave by Shamsuddin as this malik is said to have been. 3) One of this malik's sons is said to have died by drowning in the Indus while with his father in a campaign near Multan. As far as we know none of Khusrau's brothers died during the life-time of his father, 4) The author stops his narrative at the 15th year of Nâsiruddin's reign (658 H.) which means that the malik must have died before that date, but Khusrau's father, as we shall see, died about the year 660 H. (See T. H. V.I.Text p.259)

of the historians of that age. They would fill pages after pages with the praises of a king or a noble to whose bounty and favour they happened to be personally indebted, and ignore other names and persons whom they had no such cause to pay attention to. Shams-i-Sirâj does not even mention Imad-ul-Mulk, while, if we believe Barni, he was already a man of high rank in the days of Shamsuddin.(1)

(1) See infra.

Chapter II.

Birth and Early Youth;
Career under the reigns of Balban and Kaiḳobâd.

Amir Saifuddîn Mahmûd, as we have said above, settled at Patiyali and married the daughter of ʿImâdul Mulk. Three sons were born to him of this union: 1) ʿIzzuddîn Ali Shah, 2) Abul Hasan Khusrau,(1) and 3) Husâmuddin Qutlugh.(2) We do not know the date of birth of either of his two brothers, but Khusrau was born in the year 1253 (654) at Patiyali,(3) according to several of his biographers and the date can easily be verified by a reference to the various remarks the poet makes about his own age in the course of his writings.(4) Of the three brothers the eldest was certainly ʿIzzuddîn ʿAlî Shah, for according to several authorities he succeeded his father in office on the latter's death, and Khusrau's own writings prove this to be a fact. It is uncertain, however,

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(1) Amir Khusrau's full name has been given by some authorities as Abul Hasan Yamînuddin Khusrau. The poet always gives his name only as Khusrau or Sultâni or Khusraw-i-Lâchîn etc.

(2) Qutlugh, meaning 'mubârak' or auspicious in Turkish. Khusrau mentions this name in 'Leyla and Majnun', but in the lithographed edition it has been corrupted into قلغ (See Majnûn-o- Leyla, p. 61).

(3) Curiously enough Wâlih Dâghistâni in his Tezkira says that Amir Khusrau came to India as a child with his father. Khusrau's own words in Nuh Sipihr are a sufficient contradiction of this absurd statement. He says of India: "This land, of all the world, is the place of my birth, my refuge and my motherland." (Nuh Sipihr. III, p. 43 seq.) ہست مرا مولد و ماوای و وطن ؛

(4) For instance in the Dibâcha to Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl he says: "from the year 685 when I was 34 years of age to the months (سنہور) of 693 when I am 43 years old..."

which of the other two, Khusrau and Qutlugh, was the younger. It seems probable that Qu Katlugh was the youngest, for Khusrau speaks of him in a tender and loving strain[1] as behoves an elder brother, while of his other brother 'Izzuddîn 'Alî Shah he always speaks with a certain amount of respect and veneration.

We do not know also whether Khusrau had any sisters, for the Eastern biographers generally do not bother themselves about the female relatives of a person: they are considered to be either too insignificant to be mentioned or too sacred and inapproachable to be brought into the glaring and unholy light of publicity, and unfortunately the poet himself is also silent on this point.

Amir Mahmûd, a true soldier and Turk, honest and simple, was himself illiterate[2]. Born of a race of warriors whose sole occupation, probably, for centuries back had been the rearing of herds and tilling of soil, who left their flock of sheep and goats, their simple rude cottages and their fields and ploughshares only to wield the lance, to ply the bow and manipulate the shield in hot and furious contests, it is not strange that he should have been ignorant of those arts which are best cultivated in the genial and fostering atmosphere of towns and cities, are matured in the hot-houses of those centres of culture where men congregate in their thousands to trade and work, to rule and serve, to learn and instruct. Yet like a sensible man and a thoughtful father, he could appreciate well the advantages accruing from a knowledge of the letters. He was now in India in the court of a monarch whose throne was already surrounded by savants and

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(1) See Majnun-o-Leyla p. 61, and infra. See also Ode 35 (I.O. MS. 1187, fol. 104[b] seq.), where he speaks of Husamuddin Qutlugh as the younger brother. (برادر خورد)

(2) Dibâcha of the Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl, (... با آنکه امّی بود ...)

scholars fleeing from their homes and seeking shelter in India; he was in a city[1] which was fast becoming the centre of a civilisation and culture as high and as potent as could be found in the ancient capitals of Bokhara or Baghdad, Damascus or Cairo, and he could not but be affected by what he saw around him. In his manifold duties as a courtier as well as a soldier, he met daily great divines and jurists, big grammarians and poets, and formed friendships with them. Perhaps he felt a little uneasy about his own ignorance. Wisely he made up his mind to give the best instruction possible to his sons, to train them not only in the arts of war, but also in those of peace, to make them not only soldiers but also scholars so that they may have the best opportunities of competing with their contemporaries and of rising to positions to which a mere soldier could never aspire.

Khusrau seems to have been his special care, for the boy, truly a precocious one, showed very early signs of a literary bent of mind, and so, according to the poet himself, "all his father's ambition was focussed on one thing, namely that the son should achieve literary proficiency.[2] Of the other two sons, ʿIzzuddîn ʿAlî Shah also later distinguished himself as a scholar,[3] but Husâmuddîn seems to have been more inclined towards the ancestral profession and after a preliminary course of instruction, seems to have drifted more and more from the field of letters to that of battle.[4] But we shall haveoccasion

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(1) Amir Mahmûd settled in Patiyali, not far from Delhi and he lived, apparently, mostly in Delhi, for it was there that Khusrau received his early training.

(2) Dibâcha Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl: همه همتش برآن مقصر بود که من بحاصل تحصیلی کنم

(3) Thus Khusrau mentions him as a great scholar of Arabic and Persian in the Dibâcha Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl.

(4) This is evident from what Khusrau says of him in the passage in Majnun-o-Leyla referred to above. He says: "In horsemanship like a bold falcom ... he knew full well the art of battle and the king gave him the title of Husam(uddin) (= sword of the faith). In attack he was brave like his father, not like me whose sword is broken. As he learnt so well the art of his father, he also betook himself to his land, (i.e. the land of the dead or

to speak of these two later on, and shall for the present try to follow more closely the early years and training of the poet.

Amir Mahmud having determined to give his sons the full benefit of education, such as it was understood to be in those times, arranged for their indtruction. In those days, as in much later times,in India and other eastern countries, there were generally two courses that could be adopted by a father desirous of educating his children. The young children were either sent to one of the 'maktabs' or primary schools, small unpretentious institutions situated generally in the precincts of a mosque or a saint's tomb, and presided over by the imâm of the mosque or some other venerable pedagogue of the neighbourhood, or, if the father happened to be a well-to-do and prosperous man, he engaged certain scholars to attend to his children's education in their own home. The preliminary training imparted thus generally consisted of a knowledge of the Koran and theology, reading and writing of Persian, a smattering of Arabic, some logic and grammar, and was often supplemented by an instruction in some of the fine arts, chiefly calligraphy and poetry. As the boy grew up, he could always find opportunities, provided he had the will and the means, of augmenting his knowledge either by attending the seances of literary men, where scholars met and discussed the various sciences,(1) or by undergoing a regular course of instruction in one of the colleges, or Madrassas(2) as they were generally

(martyrs). He gave his life to the pleasure of his father's soul, but all the sorrows fell on my heart."

(1) Thus Omar Khayyam says:

"Myself when young did eagerly frequent
Doctor and Saint and heard great Argument
About it and about: - but evermore
Came out by the same door as in I went."
(Fitzgerald XXVII).

(2)

called; or, in some cases, by devoting himself to an assiduous study of the writings of old scholars, whose books, though rare, could often be procured in manuscript.

Amir Mahmûd, as we have already seen, was a fairly prosperous man and could well afford to arrange for the best means of instructing his children. Khusrau was sent to a maktab at a very early age and some scholars were engaged to teach him at home also. The bright boy made rapid progress with his studies, but he was born a poet and had imbibed an extraordinary passion for poetry from his very cradle. In fact, the tradition would have it that great achievements in that art were promised to him from the time of his birth. It is said that when he was born his father wrapped him up in a cloth and took him to a saintly person so that the child might receive his blessings. No sooner did the saint see the baby than he cried out: "O Amir Mahmûd, you have brought to me one who shall surpass Khâqânî himself!"(1)

While, then, the teachers dinned into his ears the sonorous verses of the Koran and the eternal bellicose transactions between the hypothetical 'Amîr and Zaid, his young mind, sensitive to the beauties of nature around him, roved far away to the land of imagination and fancy, and his bright eyes wandered away from the dull pages of "Panj-Ganj" or "Hidaya" to some small latticed window of the maktab through which he could see the green trees, the blue Indian sky, the birds hopping about and filling the air with their melodious twitterings.

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(1) The story has been related by Firishta and other biographers. It is probably a myth and I give it for what it is worth. But essentially there is nothing impossible about it. Even to-day children are taken in India to saints or even to their tombs. Some mothers would even take their new-born babes to such parents as have been fortunate in their progeny, and lay them at their feet, seeking thereby a happiness similar to theirs, in their own offspring.

Of these early days the poet says himself:[1] "My father used to send me to 'maktab' for study, but I repeated only rhymes, and my learned teacher S'aduddîn Mohd, the calligraphist, popularly known as the Qâzî (God's mercy be upon him) tried to teach me calligraphy, while I composed verses about the silken down on fair faces.[2] In spite of the persistent efforts of my teacher, continuous and long like the tresses descending from head to foot on the back of a beauty, I would not renounce my infatuation for the locks and the mole.[3] As a consequence, at that tender age I began to compose verses and ghazels that roused the admiration and wonder of my elders.

Finding all efforts to divert the pupil's mind from poetry fruitless, and in the course of time recognising his great genius and extraordinary aptitude for it, the teachers seem to have not only let him have his own way, but to have actually encouraged him. They felt a sort of reasonable pride in the prodigious genius of their young charge, very common in old days when the teacher looked upon his pupil as his own son; when the relations between the two were far closer and more affectionate than in these days, and when the teacher regarded the fame and renown of his pupil as reflecting a glory and shedding a lustre upon himself. Khusrau soon became their favourite . The boy was petted and encouraged. He was held up as a prodigy before the astonished eyes of savants and doctors, and accompanied his teachers in their visits to literary gatherings and the houses of the nobles. Thus happened an incident that the poet describes in his own words thus[4]

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(1) Dibâcha of Tuhfat-ul-Sighar. The passage is in very ornate style and I have rendered it rather freely. The reading in the MS (Ind. Off. 1187) is also not very correct.

(2) A pun upon the dual sense of the word 'Khatt'.

(3) Khal, the black beauty-spot, natural or artificial on the face of a woman.

(4) Dibâcha of Tuhfat-us-Sighar.

"One morning Khwaja Asîl, the Kotwal, sent for my teacher (Khwaja Asaduddîn) to have a letter composed by him. My humble self and my respected teacher, together with the inkpot and the pen case, reached the house (of the Kotwal). In the house of that honoured personage happened to be living in those days Khwaja 'Izzuddîn, a great scholar who possessed a good knowledge of poetry also. As we reached there, the Khwaja held in his hand a book of verses[1] and was busy in its perusal. He was bringing out from its depths the bright pearls and glittering gems (of poesy) for the behalf of his audience. My teacher said to him: 'This small boy, my pupil, soars high to the very stars in his (poetic) skill: let him recite a verse or two. Give him the book and let us mark carefully how he manages to recite the verses therein.' Khwaja 'Izzuddîn handed the book to me and I began to read out. I recited each verse in a tremulous and modulated accent, so that my melodious recital rendered all eyes tearful, and astonishment surged on all sides. My teacher then said: 'The recitation of verses is easy(?) He should be tested with the composition of a verse, in order that his natural brilliance may shine out like a mirror.' Khwaja 'Izzuddîn, thereupon tested me with four discordant things, namely hair, egg, arrow and melon.[2] In the presence of all the people in the assembly, there and then I composed the following verses:

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(1) Probably a 'biyâḍ' or a manuscript collection of verses by various masters. Such collections were very popular in India till recent days, and most of the literary men or others fond of poetry, possessed a 'biyad' with selections from their favourite poets.

(2) That is, asked him to compose verses wherein these four things with no apparent connection, should be appropriately mentioned. This was a popular method of testing poetic skill. Another way was to ask one to complete aptly a verse, given the first line, or a quatrain whose three lines had been composed by some other poet or poets. See, for instance, the story related about Firdausi who was tested by the eminent poets of his age. (Browne: Lit. hist. of Persia II, 129).

"'Every hair in the tresses of that beauty has attached to it a thousand 'eggs' (i.e. grains) of amber. But do not consider her nature to be as straight as an arrow, for like the melon the teeth (i.e. the seeds) are concealed within.'

"When I recited this quatrain the Khwaja praised me abundantly and asked me my name. I told him it was Khusrau. Then he asked me the name of my father and I gave it as Sultânî-i Shamsî. Then he spoke out thus: 'As thy father's name is linked to kings, thy pen-name also should be Sultânî ... for therein lies a good augury. No poet, however well he may have established his sway (in the realm of poetry), has achieved anything worth more than a 'dirhem'. A Sultânî in our days, however, is worth two dirhems,[1] and you may rest well assured that your fame in the land of poesy will reach so high that you will be appreciated and valued by men twice as much as other poets.' "

This was perhaps the first public appearance of the budding poet, his first step towards that wide fame he was destined to achieve, and was the first pledge and token of that appreciation and homage that he was to receive from successive generations of admirers. We can well imagine him returning home with an exultant heart, a light foot, and a gleaming eye, to narrate the whole event with modest pride to his brothers and parents.

The boy was now firmly set on the path of poetry and he proceeded with vigour amain. But very soon he had to face the first great sorrow of his life. His fond father, always so solicitous for his welfare and education, met his death in one of those numerous campaigns in which he was so often engaged, and in Khusrau's words, "gave up his life to drink the bitter draught of martyrdom so sweet to his taste, and to quaff the goblet of the immortality promised in the

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(1) The poet did actually adopt the suggestion and many of his earlier poems have this pen-name instead of Khusrau.

verse: "Nay, they are alive and by their Lord."[1] His father thus left him an orphan of eight years.[2] He naturally felt the loss heavily and thus laments his father's demise:

"Saif passed away from me, leaving my heart cleft in two. The tears roll down like a flood from my eyes and I remain like a solitary pearl."[3]

His father, however, by his care and concern, had already engrafted in his young mind the value and importance of learning, and when the boy had become an old man and his fame had "seized the four quarters of the globe", he could not but acknowledge with a fond and sad gratitude: "In my clay is the seed planted by him, and it is now blooming forth."[4]

Of his poetical achievements at that early age, he says: "I was then eight years old, but in my swift poetic flights I trod upon the celestial spheres. In that tender age when my milk-teeth were falling, I composed verses that dropped from my mouth like bright pearls."[5]

Khusrau's father died about the year 659 H.[6] Shamsuddîn Iltutmish was long dead by this time and his youngest son, Nâsiruddîn Mahmûd was on the throne of Delhi. Kings had come and gone in quick succession after the powerful Slave Sultan's death, and the country almost up to the year 644 H. was more or less in a state of anarchy.[7]

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(1) Dibacha Ghurrat-ul Kamâl. The words are from the Koran; where it is said of those who die fighting for their religion: "Don't think those who die in the cause of God to be dead. Nay, they are alive (and live) by their Lord."

(2) See infra. سیف از سرم برفت و دلم بس دو یتیم ماند؛ دریای من روان شد و دُرّم یتیم ماند

(3) Dibacha Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl:

The poet here plays upon the word (یتیم) which means an orphan, while "dusri-yatim" is a "unique pearl", the like of which cannot be found, and uses "Saif" also with a similar double meaning.

(4) Dibacha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl:

(5) Ibid.

(6) For the poet, as we have seen above, was born in 651 H., and he was, according to his own version, eight years old at the time of his father's death, which gives us the year 659.

(7) The greater portion of the following historical review is based on the text of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri.

Shamsuddin's eldest son, Nâsiruddîn Mahmûd (the Elder), was a brave, generous and capable prince, and had achieved great renown during the life-time of his father by his successful campaigns in Oudh, where he conquered and killed a powerful Hindu chief, Bartu, and in Lakhnauti against Ghiyâthuddîn 'Iwaḍ Khiljî, whom he also defeated and put to death. He would perhaps have proved an able and strong successor to his father, but he died during the latter's life-time, and so Ruknuddîn Firoz Shah, the second son of Iltutmish, came to the throne in 633 H. He was a weak and dissolute man, given to wine and women, and he squandered his father's treasures,(1) leaving the government of the country to his mother, Shâh-i-Turkân,(2) a Turkish slave-girl. Shâh-i-Turkân's jealousy prompted her to perpetrate several cruel outrages on her rivals, the other wives of Iltutmish, and her step-children. This roused wide-spread indignation, and nobles and governors all over the country rose in open rebellion. The governors of Multan, Lahore and Badaon joined forces and marched towards the capital. As the king marched out to meet them, the citizens of Delhi, enraged by his mother's doings, and especially her attempt to put to death Raḍîya, the favourite daughter of Iltutmish, rebelled, and captured the queen. All the Turkish chiefs then agreed to enthrone Sultana Raḍîya, who became the first and last queen of Delhi in 634 H. Ruknuddîn was imprisoned, and soon after died in captivity.

Raḍîya, a brave and capable queen, who rode on elephant and horse-back in male attire, to the scandal of the religious bigots, exercised a good deal of power and influence, even during the reign of her father, who is said to have nominated

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(1) Khusrau says of him ('Ashîqa S.O.S. ms. pp. 56-57): "He emptied all the Shamsî treasuries." همه گنجینه شمسی تهی کرد

(2) The name is generally written without 'iḍâfat", but I think "Shâh-i-Turkân" (= the queen of the Turks) is a better reading.

her as his successor in spite of the protests of his nobles. She ruled the country well, and managed to subdue the grumbling and discontented Turkish chiefs and to restore order in such provinces as Rantambhur and Gwaliyar. But her partiality to an Abbyssinian, Amir Yâqût, estranged several Turkish chiefs. Amir Mahmûd Altûniya,[1] the governor of Tabarhinda, marched on Delhi and captured the queen. She later married her captor, and together they advanced towards Delhi to regain the throne which had already been occupied by her brother Mu'izuddîn Bahrâm Shah, but they were defeated. Deserted by their followers after the defeat, they fell into the hands of Hindu jats who murdered them.[2]

Sultan Muizuddin Bahram Shah, who was crowned king in 637 H., was cruel and hard-hearted, although very simple and unassuming in his manner and dress. His tyranny and ill-treatment of high officials made all the nobles suspicious of him. They joined together against him, revolted in Delhi in 639 and put the king to death. The unfortunate prince's brief reign was also marred by the capture and destruction of Lahore at the hands of the Mongols in 639, and the wholesale slaughter of its inhabitants.[3]

Mu'ezzuddîn was succeeded in 639 H. by Ruknuddîn Fîroz Shah's son, 'Alâuddin Mas'ûd Shah, a generous, virtuous and

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(1) One of the famous forty Turkish slaves of Iltutmish. Most of the troubles after Shamsuddin's death were due to the rivalries and ambitions of these Turks.

(2) Khusrau is full of admiration for the unfortunate queen. "The good-natured daughter Radiya decorated the throne... For some months her sun-like face was concealed in the cloud of the veil ... but as many affairs could not thus be properly dealt with, she discarded the veil. Her might and prowess compelled brave men to bow before her. For three years, when her fortune was in the ascendant, no one could find any fault with her ..." (S.O.S. Ms. of Ashiqu, pp. 56-57.).

(3) Khusrau (Ibid) says of him: "For three years he also quaffed the goblet of pleasure like Behrâm of yore."

accomplished prince who started his reign well by releasing from confinement his uncles Nâsiruddin and Malik Jalaluddin, and winning the confidence of his nobles. The Mongols, who invaded India twice in his time, were successfully repulsed. But a change soon came over him. He became more and more inclined towards pleasures of the wine-cup and the chase, lost his old good qualities, and neglected state affairs. The nobles, conspiring against him, imprisoned the king and called upon Nâsiruddin Mahmûd, the youngest son of Iltutmish, to assume the reins of government.

Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud was proclaimed king in the beginning of the year 646 H. Pious and virtuous, gentle and meek, simple and unassuming, Sultan Nasiruddin ruled for twenty-two years with unique success, thanks chiefly to his able lieutenant (نائب مملک) Ghiyâthuddin Balban who, with the titles of Ulugh Kutlugh Khan, was the real power behind the king. Balban fought the Mongols for his master, leading expeditions against them every year, and restored order and peace in the frontier provinces by effectively barring the inroads of the Mongols and supplying the fortresses with strong garrisons. He subjugated the refractory Indian princes and thus gave to the kingdom a strength and a unity that it had not seen since the time of Iltutmish. The king himself, meanwhile, passed his life in piety and simplicity. His wife cooked for him, while he copied the Koran, calligraphy being a favourite hobby of his, or busied himself in the study of books. Balban continued to serve his master during the latter's long reign and piloted the state safely through rebellions, conspiracies, and the Mongol menace till the year 1266 A.D., when Nâsirudrin died a peaceful death.(1) During this long time he had never swerved from the path of loyalty, and with his tact and ability

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(1) Ibn Battûtta's assertion that Balban murdered his master is unsupported by any other evidence.

had won for himself a high repute, so that when on his master's death, he assumed the royal black canopy[1] nobody grumbled or dared raise a voice against him.

Ghiyāthuddin Balban, a slave and compatriot of Iltutmish, was descended from the princely house of Albari[2] Turks. It is related that he was short and ugly and that Shamsuddin at first refused to buy him when he was brought to him with other slaves. "For whose sake have you bought all these slaves?" asked Balban of the Sultan. "For mine own, of course," replied the king. "Then buy me for the sake of God!" appealed Balban. The king was amused and touched.[3] He bought the slave, who very soon proved by his mettle and prowess that the king had not made a bad bargain. He was enrolled subsequently in the famous corps of "the forty" and rose to high positions. Iltutmish's daughter, Sultâna Radîya, made him his chief huntsman. Later he began his brilliant campaigns against the Mongols and it was due mainly to his organisation and skill that they were defeated and repulsed in the reign of 'Alâuddin Masûd Shah.

When, therefore, in 664 H., the strong and experienced man took in his hands the reins of the kingdom, "the capital of Delhi acquired lustre and brilliance, state-affairs and the welfare of the kingdom were properly attended to; his reign gave a fresh strength to the kingdom and matters that had weakened and got disturbed and confused were put under due control again. With his strong laws and his sound opinion

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(1) The Turkish Sultans of Delhi apparently borrowed black as the emblem of royalty from the Abbasid Caliphs, for 'chatri-siyah' was among them the special emblem of royalty. See infra.

(2) Or Ilbari, a tribe of Turkestan. See Raverty T.N. (Tr. p. 800 n.). It would appear from his notes that Iltutmish also belonged to the same tribe. Sir D. Ross has suggested that the name Albari is a compound word Alp-ari = a brave man (Alp = brave; ari man Turk.)

(3) See Ibn-i-Battutta (Defremery iii 171-2.).

he brought the multitude as well as the elite of the country under his subjection, and his majesty and might were deeply impressed on their mind. Through his abundant justice and mercifulness, he made all his subjects attached to his government, and the people who, during the thirty years after the death of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish, on account of the inexperience and folly of his children and the usurpation of power by the ill-advised Shamsi slaves, had become disobedient and self-willed, perching on every twig, and creeping under the protecting wings of any pretender, living as they pleased and losing all respect for kingly prestige, so essential for the peace and order of the world, became submissive and obedient from the very first year of Balban's reign. They renounced their truculent attitude and selfish ways, and gave up their heedlessness and insolence."(1)

So writes Ziyâ Barnî, and we may well understand this change in the attitude of the people, for it is certain that the old monarch ruled with an iron hand, wisely and justly no doubt, but at the same time with a sternness that in some cases bordered on cruelty(2) that was perhaps essential for those disturbed times. He was very particular about the selection of his officials, and gave all responsible posts to men of noble descent, experienced and faithful, generous and brave, and "to any worthless, idle, miserly and greedy man he never gave any high office." He had the greatest concern for the splendour of his official life, for he thought it to be very important in establishing the royal prestige. Thus Barni says of his cavalcade: "He had appointed many Sistani

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(1) Barni: p. 28 (Bib. Ind.).

(2) His execution of the defeated generals returning back to Delhi from Lakhnauti shows this clearly. See infra.

'pahlwâns'[1] on sixty and seventy thousand jîtals,[2] who placing naked swords on their shoulders used to escort him, and when the king rode in a cavalcade his bright face shone and the naked swords glittered. With the brightness of the sun, the flash of the swords, and the brilliance of his face, the charm (of the cavalcade) was enhanced a hundredfold. The eyes of the on-lookers filled with tears and were dazzled, and they talked of this sight in wonder and admiration." Of his durbar he says: "In his general 'durbar' there stood in order the wardens,[3] the chamberlains,[4] the armour-bearers,[5] the guards,[6] the 'Sahm-ul-hashams',[7] and their lieutenants, the 'chaushes',[8] the 'naqîbs' , and the 'pahlwâns', while on right and left were stationed elephants and caparisoned horses. The king with his face bright as the sun and his white beard like camphor, sat on the ornamented throne with an air and a pose that made all hearts tremble. There stood behind the throne the special servants and confidants,[9] while the 'shahnas' of elephants[10] 'sarjândars' and chief armour-bearers, the masters of the Stable and the amirs of the slaves, stood

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(1) 'Pahlwân', in the general sense of a strong athletic man, not necessarily a wrestler as commonly interpreted in India in these days. Sistân is the name of a district or province in Khorasan.

(2) Jîtal or Chîtal, a small copper coin.

(3) Muzâr, pl. of Mâzir = a watch-keeper, warden.

(4) Hujjâb, pl. of Hâjib = a door-keeper, chamberlain.

(5) Silâhdâr = a man whose duty it was to carry the arms of a great personage when the latter marched in procession or sat in court.

(6) Jândar, for which see note on Sarjândar.

(7) Sahmul Hasham, a member of the royal cavalcade.

(8) Chaush or chawush was an officer very much like a herald, and a 'naqib' was not very different from him

(9) 'Muqarrabân' which may also mean 'relatives'.

(10) 'Shahnah' means literally a vice-regent or representative and commonly denotes the prefect of police or a mayor. It is not known what rank a 'shahnah' of elephants had in those days. He was probably one of the officers in charge of the royal elephants.

right and left, and their subordinates also stood there according to their ranks. The cries of the 'sahmul-hashams' and 'chaushes, and the shouts of the 'naquibs' could be heard from a distance of two kurohs[1] and those who heard them quaked with fear. If in the court there happened to be ambassadors from far-off places, 'râis' or 'râizâdas', or other chiefs coming to pay homage to the king, they most often fainted and collapsed."

In splendour and majesty Balban surpassed even his master Shamsuddin Iltutmish, and although his harsh discipline and stern gravity could not tolerate the presence of a musician or a jester in his court, he often held big and splendid assemblies wherein were found figured carpets, coloured dishes, gold and silver vessels, gold-embroidered screens, foliage and flower decorations, various kinds of fruit and dishes, sherbets and 'tanbûl' (i.e. betel-leaf), and where music was played and poets recited panegyrics. He was very fond of wine when he was a malik and a khan, but he renounced it on becoming king.[2]

The splendour of his reign was enhanced by the existence in those days of several great and knightly maliks, "the wonders" as Barni calls them, great scholars and poets, skilful musicians and physicians, expert artisans and craftsmen.

Foremost among the maliks was 'Alâuddin Kishlîkhan,[3] Ullugh Qutlugh Muhârak Bârbek,[3] the nephew of the Sultan, who was famed far and wide for his generosity and had "surpassed even Hâtam Tagy in his munificence. Poets and musici-

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(1) Kurah, a measure of length, now commonly called 'Kos' in India.

(2) Barni, p. 46.

(3) This is the most correct form of the name, which has otherwise been written as Kushlîkhan, but nowhere Kushilkhan as Prof. Habik writes (Life & Works, p. 6). See T.N. Ulugh, Qutlugh are simply titles. Bârbek is the Turkish synonym of Amir-Hâjib (= Chief Chamberlain). In Rieu (Pers. MSS. V.I p.240) the name is given as Kishlu Khan Jumhur, the second being probably a corruption if Jhuju or Chijju, a title of this malik, and he is described as the brother of Sultan Ghiyâsuddin.

ans came to him from the farthest conrners of the country and got rich rewards for singing his praises. He was at the same time the foremost man of his time in playing polo and in hunting, so that his fame spread even to countries beyond Khorasan, and it is said that Hulaga himself was so impressed by what he heard about him that he invited him to his court and promised to give him half of Iraq if he came there, and that his uncle was not a little jealous of the nephew's wide popularity and renown.[1] He held the office of Chief Chamberlain to the king and was often, in consequence styled 'the great Barbek.'

Another great malik was Malik-ul-Umara, Fakhruddîn, the Kotwal[2] of Delhi, who was noted for his deeds of piety and charity. It is related of him that he kept constantly engaged twelve thousand men to recite the Koran, changed his dress on each of the three hundred and sixty days of the year giving away the discarded one to poor and needy people, and even his bedstead and bed-sheets were changed every day. Each year he provided dowries for a thousand poor maidens.[3]

Amîr 'Alî, sarjândar, the cousin of Balban, known as Hâtim Khan on account of his generosity, was another of the prominent maliks, whose gifts never fell short of thousands. He was a great devotee of the wine-cup and bestowed lavish gifts when under the influence. Balban once said to him: "O 'Ali, I hear you bestow 'something' while intoxicated in your wine-parties. I should consider you to be generous only if you give anything when you are sober." From that day the Khan renounced wine and his gifts became more lavish.[4]

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(1) Barni, p. 113 sq.

(2) Kotwal, the prefect of police, but with more extensive powers.

(3) Barni, pp. 117-118.

(4) Ibid p. 118-119.

And among the maliks was 'Imâdul-Mulk, the maternal grandfather of Khusrau, now the Râwat-'Arḍ.(1) He had held for thirty years the onerous post of 'Arḍ-i-Mamâlik, and even now, though nominally in charge of the royal horse, he carried on the functions of 'arḍ-i-mamâlik also.(2) As Khusrau says: "he was one of the four props of the throne, and although he had no regal insignia, he held the emblems of authority.(3) With his wide generosity he held the whole of Hindustan in the palm of his hand and did the real work of government from behind the screen, contenting himself ostensibly with the office of an 'Âriḍ so that the jealous mischief makers may raise no trouble. Wonderful râwat-'arḍ who in managing the affairs of the whole Indian kingdom was full of sound opinions, so that if he desired he could reverse a 'râi' and make him a 'yâr' (friend)!"(4)

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(1) A curious appellation. Râwat, râut रावत in Marahti and 'râvat' રાવત in Gujrati, means a horse-soldier, a trooper, a horse-keeper. Râwat-'arḍ, then, is equivalent to 'Âriḍ-i-Râwat or 'Âriḍ-i-Sipâh, as Khusrau designates him in one place, and 'Âriḍ (from Arḍ) means one who presents, hence supervises and controls. But it is not clear why 'Âriḍ-i-Râwat should be changed into Râwat-'arḍ by Barni. Arḍ could, of course, denote the name of the post of an 'Âriḍ or of his office (diwan) but not the officer himself. Perhaps it is a case of transposed iḍâfat, 'âriḍi-râwat being changed into Râwat-'Âriḍ and the second word being shortened into Ard. Or it may be the Turkish form Râwat-'Âriḍi which has been contracted into râwat-arḍ.

(2) 'Arḍi-mamâlik, Prof. Habib translates as 'war-minister'. (Life and Works, p. 6).

(3) (اگرچہ نشان سلطانی نداشت سلطانی نشانی داشت) an ambiguous sentence. My translation is only conjectural.

(4) Rai is written as رای and if the letters are reversed the word becomes یار The poet evidently means that he could win any refractory rai over to his side with his sound policy, playing upon the double meaning of the word . It is interesting to note here that 'Imâdul-Mulk himself was probably of Indian origin, for Khusrau calls him in one place the 'Black 'Âriḍ'. He says:
ز اصل عارض اسود ستم آن نسخت معنی ؛ کز اصل خویشتن یک یک نشانی باز دادم من ؛ الخ

The duties of the râwat-'arḍ, as far as we can gather from contemporary narratives, were primarily the supervision of the cavalry which formed the bulk of the regular army in those days, and the examination from time to time of the horses and equipments of the soldiers. He did his work with great energy and honesty, and with an almost paternal generssity. He would increase the stipends of any cavalier whom he found well-equipped at the time of the terminal parades and reward him handsomely. If a cavalier happened to lose his horse through an accident, he would console him and help him to buy another, or would give him one from his own stable. If he found a horse ill-fed and was satisfied that its master could not afford to feed it properly. he would change it for a strong, stout horse of his own or give the man a large sum of money for the proper maintenance of the horse.

Annually he used to invite all the officials of the Arḍ dîwân to a grand and sumptuous feast and bestowed on them rich dresses. He supplied from his own kitchen food for all his subordinates. Fifty to sixty trays heaped with white bread, roast mutton, pigeons, chickens and other viands, with liqueurs[1], sherbets and betels, were served at each meal in the diwân-i-'arḍ, and according to Khusrau, "the corner of his tablecloth stretched up to the skirts of the Resurrection itself."[2] The 'tanbûl'[3] of râwat-'arḍ was specially noted for its excellence and abundance and "the poor people received from him 'tanbûl' larger in quantity than all the vegetation on earth."[4] The

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(1) The original has (افقاع) 'afqa', evidently the plural form of فقّة a leek or muchroom or of فقّاع meaning wine, liquor.

(2) A curious poetical expression for denoting the extreme length of the table-cloth, the Judgment Day or the Day of Resurrection being something very remote (Dîbâcha of Ghurratul-Kamâl.).

(3) The betel-leaf.

(4) Dibâcha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl.

Râwat-ard who had a great partiality for this leaf would send for it in quick succession,(1) and each time he took one for himself, all those who happened to be sitting around him also got one each. His generosity extended even beyond this. "Each year he gave away caps and cloaks numerous enough to cover the nakedness of all the needy persons in the world. Every time this 'âriḍ of the armies(2) poured the rain of his mercy on the musalmans, the Hindu unbelievers also received their due, for the rain was general, only the rain that fell on the latter was that of arrows and spears."(3)

It was this great man, this "pillar of the state", who became the guardian of Khusrau after the death of Amir Saif-uddin Mahmûd. It was lucky for the young poet that his grand-father was there to take care of him, and he says himself: "My fortune favoured me, for my grand-father was alive. He was not a mere grand-father, but a great fortune.(4) When the cloud whose drop I am passed away from my head, I was left an orphan. My grand-father picked me up and strung me in the pearl-rope of service."(5)

'Imâdul Mulk, as we have seen above, was one of the foremost nobles of his age. He had in his personal service two hundred Turkish and two thousand Hindu slaves and servants and a thousand troopers.(6) Fifty to sixty slaves always attended

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(1) In India even to-day in assemblies, especially those held on the occasion of marriage, betel-leaves are served constantly all the time the gathering lasts. They are brought in on special silver plates, prepared in the usual way and wrapped round with silver or gold leaves.

(2) 'Âriḍ-i-Sipâh (See Note 1 on p. 40).

(3) Dibâcha Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl. Khusrau has here, evidently, been affected by the 'fashion' of his age. His bitterness against the 'infidels' is palpably feigned. In fact the last clause would seem to be an afterthought added to deceive his too ardent Muslim readers.

(4) اوجدّ بنود دولتی بود 'daulat' can also be rendered as 'kingdom' while 'jadd' can mean 'fortune' also.

(5) Dibâcha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl.

(6) Ibid.

his assemblies for bringing in fresh relays of betel-leaf alone,[1] and his house was the haunt of great scholars and mighty nobles. The young poet thus grew up amidst luxury and ease and passed his youthful days in the society of great men. He listened eagerly to the learned discourses of the scholars, the artistic recitals of the poets, and the melodious songs of the musicians, and found ample opportunity for exercising his own poetic talent by writing poems in praise of his grand-father's distinguished guests. It was also probably in these early days, in the magnificent assemblies convened by ʿImâdul-Mulk, that the poet imbibed a love for music, a science in which he later acquired great proficiency.

But while Khusrau was thus making great headway in his favourite pursuits, it is uncertain whether he paid as much attention to the more abstruse sciences. There is no evidence to show that he underwent any regular course of training in some of the colleges, or that he was instructed by any contemporary scholars. The only teacher of his whom he has mentioned by name is the calligraphist Kwaja Asaduddin[2] who was apparently responsible for the elementary training of the poet in the popular art of calligraphy. Even in poetry he did not adopt the usual procedure of becoming a pupil to some famous master, but relied almost entirely on his own

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(1) Barni p. 117.

(2) See supra. We know nothing more about him than that he was a good calligraphist. But his soubriquet of Qâzi would show that he was also a good scholar. Barni mentions, among the learned men of Balban's time a certain Qazi Sadiduddin (p. 111) and it is possible that this is a mistake for Asaduddin. Of his skill in calligraphy Khusrau says in an ode:

گیسوئی تو ہمچو خط خواجہ است کہ روی ہ آسان نتواند کہ کند ہر پسر انگشت ؛

"Thy hair, O beloved, is like the writing of the Kwaja which cannot easily be imitated (or criticised) by every youthful aspirant." Tuhfat-ul-Sighar (Ind. Off. ms. 1187. fol. 31^{b}).

skill and natural aptitude. He studied assiduously the poetry of popular masters of his day and tried his hand at each of the various styles then commonly in vogue, but he sought no aid, no correction[1] as it was technically known, from anyone. He says himself:[2] "I was only twelve years old when the foundations of the various forms of verse were laid strongly in my mind. When the scholars and savants of the time saw my proficiency in poetry they were amazed and their amazement added to my pride, for on listening to my verses they used to encourage me heartily. But (I hardly required any such encouragement) for I was already so enamoured of this fascinating art, that from morning till evening my head was bent like that of the pen consuming the lamp-soot,[3] and I strained my eyes over 'the black and white' day and night in order to achieve a high name for fine sagacity and enlightened wit. From time to time the contemporary artists used to test my skill[4] and I displayed to them my art with the burning eloquence of my tongue. As no famous master had ever trained me, who could point out to me the subtleties of verse and could check my wandering pen from the paths of error or help to bring to light the excellence that lay hidden in my faults, for some time I placed before me, like the parrots learning to speak, the mirror of imagination, and learnt poetry from the images that were reflected in that mirror. I sought at the same time to polish the rough mirror of my mind with the burnisher of efforts. I examined most of the forms (of

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(1) Islâh: suggestions and corrections by a master. The budding poets of the East used generally to show the results of their poetical efforts to certain poets who had already made a name for themselves.

(2) I translate the passage very freely. It is full of various figures of speech. (Dibâcha: Tuhfat-ul-Sighar)

(3) i.e. the ink, in which the lamp-soot forms the chief ingredient. On the other hand, to consume the lamp-soot may also be interpreted in the sense of burning the midnight oil.

(4) Probably in some of the poetical contests or 'musha aras' so popular in the Eastern lands.

poetry) that could be produced through imagination, and studied constantly the works of great masters. From these I culled what was sweet and thus acquired a real taste for the pleasures of poetry. My eyes and intellect brightened when I saw the writings of Anwarî and Sanâi, and wherever I beheld a poem bright as gold-water I chased it like a running stream. Every dîwân I came across, I not only studied but imitated in my compositions."(1)

This shows clearly that Khusrau from the very beginning of his poetical career relied almost entirely on his own natural genius and industry and did not seek the aid of any of the brilliant scholars and poets who, according to Barni, adorned the reign of Ghiyâthuddîn Balban.(2) He was, no doubt, conscious of the advantages accruing from a regular training under a sympathetic master who can check the wayward flights of a youthful fancy to paths of error, and direct the course of an unripe and ardent imagination into proper and fruitful channels, for poetry in the East has always been a science as well as an art, and as such requires often a regular instruction. Thus the poet himself, advising one of his sons, says:(3) "If you want to be happy in your manhood, you should serve well your teacher. What use is it to grasp the axe in your hand without the guidance of a teacher? Surely your hand will become wood and the wood fuel. Rose-water pressed from wild roses does not smell so pleasantly." Yet there are certain natures that cannot bear even the

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(1) Dibâcha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl (I.O. ms. 1186).

(2) Barni (p. 111) mentions several names, about whom, unfortunately, we know very little now. According to Shibli (Shi'rul Ajam V. II. p. 144) Khusrau became a pupil of Maulana Shihâbuddin. But this is an erroneous conclusion from some of the poet's remarks about this personage.

(3) The 'Ashîqa (I.O. ms. 1215, fol. 156^{b}.).

gentle yoke of pupil-hood, certain minds that would not be trammelled by conventions, and certain dispositions that have in them a seed of originality and independence. Genius always soars high above the usual rules and conventions, and strives to chalk out for itself a path different from that of the average human being. Khusrau, no doubt, in his early days tried to imitate great masters,(1) and even in his riper age strove to plod in the footprints of Nizâmi(2); but his native originality and intuitive genius always assert themselves in his works and have helped him to evolve a style of poetry that is essentially his own.

Khusrau does not seem to have paid much attention to the study of serious sciences in his youth. He says that he knew several languages,(3) and we have no reason to disbelieve him. But these languages, we suspect to have been acquired more through an everyday intercourse with all sorts of men - Hindu râis coming to court the favour of his grand-father, the burly Afghans of the frontier whom he met in his travels to Multan and other places in the west, and the Turks of the north (Bâlâ) who came to seek employment as troopers in the armies of the king of Delhi - than from a regular study. He admits himself that he was not a scholar of Arabic. "I am an Indian Turk and can answer you in Hindi; I have no Egyptian sugar (i.e. Arabic) to talk of Arabia."(4)

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(1) See supra.

(2) In writing a replica to Nizâmi's famous work the Khamsa or the five mathnawis.

(3) Nuh Sipihr (I.O. ms. 1187, fol. 71b): "With my knowing mind I have studied most of the languages spoken by men. I know them, comprehend them and have composed in them also."

من بزبا نہائی کسان بیشتری ؛ کردہ ام از طبع سخن ساگذری ؛ دانم و دریافتہ و گفتہ ہم ؛ جستہ و روشن سخنان بیش و کم

We shall discuss the question in detail in a following chapter.

(4) The Dîbâcha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl. Shiblî says (Shi'r-ul-'Ajam, II. 110) "He was fully versed in Arabic," but I doubt this very much. On p. 133 again Shibli says: "In Arabic he was the equal of Arab littérateurs", which is hard to believe in the face of Khusrau's own denial.

He even confesses that he did not know the 'silly' rules of prosody, the various metres, the scansions, the numerous changes that the rhyme undergoes, and so on.(1) He probably gained a fairly good knowledge of sciences like astronomy, grammar, theology, and jurisprudence during his visits to the assemblies of the learned and through a frequent association with scholars. This is evident from his works. Yet he was a poet first and anything else after that. He was not a scholar-poet, - his poetry was not the outcome of a thorough study and mastery of a language without any real poetic genius. He did not compose poems as a writer would compose an ornate letter, plodding slowly, stumbling at each word and weighing and judging it carefully before "stringing it finally into the necklace." He was a bright boy with an intellect and shrewdness certainly much above the average. He grasped quickly what he heard and stored it in his memory, and thus without any elaborate study managed to learn a good deal. He could always make up for his rather cursory knowledge of sciences by his quick wit and brilliant intellect, and could hold his own against any pedantic scholar.

The young poet, then, started his public career equipped with just a passable knowledge of the serious sciences, but with an extraordinary talent for poetry, a keen appreciation of things beautiful and pleasant and, above all, a ready wit and a bright humour that won for him an honourable place in any assembly. He was born a courtier just as he was born a poet, and he continued playing the double rôle almost up to the very last moments of his life. His poems charmed the

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(1) Baḳîya Naḳîya (I.O. ms. 1187, fol. 393): "You say to me: 'O Khusrau, thou dost not know prosody.' Why should I discuss it with you, for I need no prosody. I compose balanced verses with my natural judgment .... I have the balance and you place (your verses) in the balance. Which of us two is superior, you consider yourself...."

ای کہ میگوئی مرا خسرو نمیداند عروض ؛ من چہ محتاج عروضم تا کنم گفت و شنو ؛ الخ

populace and entranced nobles and princes. It would be no exaggeration to say in the words of Sleeman, that he "sang extempore to his lyre while the greatest and the fairest watched his lips to catch the expressions as they came warm from his soul."(1) The eloquence and sweetness of his verses soon earned for him the title of Tûṭi-i-Hind, the Parrot of India.(2)

Fortune favoured the youthful artist from the very start. The peculiar combination of a gifted poet and a pleasant and shrewd courtier and man of the world threw all doors open before him. The conditions of the country, moreover, during Balban's reign, and that of society were ideal for a successful début. Peace prevailed generally throughout the country, and men thought more of poetry and learning than of warlike exploits. On the one hand there was a brilliant galaxy of scholars and savants that came in ever larger numbers from the north to the hospitable capital of Delhi, and on the other an equally resplendent group of great and generous maliks, the remnants of the famous Shamsi slaves, who vied with one another in their lavish gifts to men of letters and poets, in order to earn for themselves a distinction among their companions and a name that might be handed down to posterity

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(1) Major Sleeman: Rambles and Recollections (Westminster 1843), V. II, p. 166.

(2) The poet himself makesat various places, allusions to this title. Thus: Dîbâcha Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl:

چو من طوطیٔ هندم راست پرسی ؛ ز من هندوی پرس تا راست گویم ؛

It was Khusrau who was in his mind when Hâfiz wrote the well-known couplet

شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند ؛ زین قند پارسی که به بنگاله میرود ؛

of the ghazal he sent to Ghiyâthuddîn of Bengal.

through the panegyrics that their generosity obtained for them. Thus Barni says:[1] "There was no rivalry, jealousy or enmity among the Shamsi, Nasiri or even Balbani maliks and khans for the sake of big fiefs, abundance of wealth, or high and honourable offices. All their rivalry and envy was concerning deeds of generosity. If a Khan or Malik heard that five hundred persons dined at the table of a certain Malik or Khan, he was envious and tried to feed a thousand at his table. Again, if one of them came to know that such and such malik gives as charity two hundred 'tankahs'[2] when he rides out, he was jealous and determined to give away four hundred 'tankahs' when he himself rode out. If one of the nobles bestowed fifty horses in his wine-party and gave robes to two hundred persons, another noble hearing this would feel jealous and would try his best to give away a hundred horses and to bestow robes on five hundred persons. Consequently, the maliks, the khans and the nobles of that age were always in debt on account of their lavish gifts, expenditure and charities."

Several of these nobles, one may believe, were eager to patronise a rising star like Khusrau and to secure his services for their special behoof. Khusrau was too young to be admitted to the royal court itself, and, perhaps, the stern monarch (whom Khusrau praises in several fine odes)[3] was not much inclined towards poetry and poets, and so the poet had to attach himself to one of the nobles. His choice fell on the foremost and the most generous of them, and he enrolled himself in the cortège of the brilliant Malik Jhujhu, ʿAlāuddīn Kishlī Khan, the Chief Chamberlain,[4] who once gave away all

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(1) Barni pp. 119-20.

(2) For tankah see Thomas, p. 49[n] and p. 224[n].

(3) See for instance the odes Nos. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, etc. in the Tuhfat-ul-Sighar (I.O. ms., No. 1187).

(4) See supra.

the horses in his stables to a poet, Shamsi-i-Mûîn, who had composed an ode in his praise and ten thousand tankahs to each of the musicians who recited the ode in his presence.(1) But it was not until after the death of his grandfather, 'Imâdul Mulk, who died at the ripe age of a hundred and thirteen years, after a long and meritorious service of about seventy years as the 'ârid-i-mamâlik, that Khusrau sought the protection of this malik. This event occurred about the year 671 H.,(2) when the poet was almost twenty and had firmly established his claim to be a poet of the first rank. Great scholars had already testified to his skill, and already he had produced enough poetry to form a large diwân.(3) He relates of himself when he was sixteen: "In those days critical people had changed their ideas about the expression of thoughts and the new style in great vogue was the style of Kamâl of Ispahan,(4) Following the general practice, I also adopted the same mode and little by little achieved great proficiency in it. Muftî Mushiruddîn Gharâfî was alive then, and in learning and knowledge was unique in his time. One day I betook myself to this great scholar in order to gain and profit by his advice concerning this style, and recited to him a fine quatrain that I had recently composed, and which began thus: "When

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(1)Barni, p. 113.

(2) Khusrau gives, in his Dîbâcha to the Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl, the age and duration of office of his grandfather. He says further on, however, "I was 20 when he became a hundred and traversed in a moment the thousand-year long journey to paradise." (But he is evidently giving here the approximate age of Imâd-ul-Mulk and is speaking, as it were, in rounded numbers. Khusrau was born in 651 H., and so 'Imâd-ul-Mulk must have died about 671 H. Ahmad Said Mahrarawi commits the strange blunder of asserting that 'Imâd-ul-Mulk was 113 when he took charge of Khusrau after the death of the latter's father. (See Hayât-i-Khusrau, p. 6).

(3) His first Dîwân, Tuhfat-ul-Sighar, contains odes composed from the age of 16 to 19 years. (See Dîbacha).

'4) We shall speak of this poet later on.

thy languid eye is coquettish at the time thou smilest, roses seem to be falling about from thy face."[1] The Mufti[2] liked it immensely and praised me highly .... Afterwards whatever my youthful imagination produced, was eagerly sought and appreciated by the knowing persons of the time and was quoted from mouth to mouth, musicians sang it to the music of their lyres, and even bent old men fell into ecstasies on hearing these melodies."[3]

But while the poet was exulting in his successes and was boasting of his poetic prowess, saying, "My verses have imparted to the realm of Hind a splendour as Zahîr's verses did to that of Faryab,"[4] and, "My dust has been made the collyrium of Ispahan so that the sky may apply it to the eyes of Anwarî,"[5] he had to face this fresh sorrow, 'Imâd-ul-Mulk's death. Khusrau composed a long and touching elegy on the death of this affectionate grand-father, who had been so kind to the orphan. He mourned him with real grief. "That lamp is blown out and the Torch of Heaven is obscured. Alas! the foundation of the two worlds is ruined. Why does not the 'Âriḍ go to the royal presence? Where hides the great minister and why comes he not to the Dîwân? .... O Âsaf! even the Sultan weeps for thee and O 'Âriḍ, the dîwân itself mourns

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(1) درخنده جو چشم مست تو ناز کند ؛ از روی تو گل ریختن آغاز کند

(2) Barni makes no mention of this scholar.

(3) Dîbâcha of Wast-ul-Hayât (I.O.ms. 1187). I have rendered the passage very freely. A literal translation would be impossible.

(4) Tuhfat-ul-Sighar (I.O. ms. 1187) fol. 27b:

تا لفز سخن من فریاب گشت اقلیم هند ؛ یا ز اشعار ظهیر اوقصائی ملک فاریاب ؛

(5) Ibid fol. 39b: تا کشند گردون بچشم انوری ؛ خاک من کحل سیاهالی شده است

thy death. The supporting pole (pillar) of the celestial dome itself has succumbed, for pavilions and belvederes of the royal palace are in mourning .... The Turks have discarded their 'kulâhs', and in grief have rent their cloaks down to the skirt, while the Hindu Rais, with bare heads like Brahmins weep in bewildered sorrow."(1)

The poet now made the wise decision of entering the service of Malik Alauddin Kishlî Khan, one of his earliest patrons. He had, by this time sung the praises of several contemporary great men, among them being Shamsuddin Dabîr,(2) Amir 'Ali Sarjândâr(3) Ikhtiyâruddaula Husâmuddin and Malik Mahmûd, the son and successor of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk.(4) But 'Alauddin Kishlî Khan both in generosity and rank, certainly excelled all his contemporaries. His power and influence as the nephew of the Sultan were vast, and his assemblies were attended by nobles and princes of the highest position, and the young poet could not have made a better choice. He says himself: "After that (i.e. the death of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk) I attached myself to the court of the great Kishlu Khan, known popularly as Jhujhu, and through this wise attachment reached to great and lofty heights. Soon after I had entered his service, I became his great confident."(5)

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(1) Tuhfat-ul-Sighar (I.O. ms. 1187) fol. 45^b seq.

(2) See infra.

(3) See supra.

(4) See for instance the ode No. 28 fol 36^b (I.O. ms. of Tufhat Sighar) beginning
ریحان خطی وراح لبی روح مصوّر ؛ ریحان تو راحت ده وراحت فرح آور ؛
and the elegy on 'Imâd-ul-Mulk's death (quoted above) in which he says:
محمود را که گشت صغیرش مقام عم ؛ در رحلت فراق تو صبر جمیل باد ؛

(5) Literally "I became the tire-woman of his court or estate." (حاقلهٔ دولت)
Dîbâcha Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl).

What the duties of the poet were in his first office, and what remuneration he received for performing them, we cannot definitely ascertain. But we can guess with great probability of truth, that his main duty was to enliven the assemblies of his patron with his ready wit and pleasant humour, to be, in other words, a boon-companion to the great Khan and to sing his praises in fine poems that might shed an enhanced lustre on his already prominent personality.

"For two years," says Khusrau, "I sang his praises in some of the most ornate odes, one of which others could compose only in a year[1] (?) I was constantly present in the garden of that cypress[2] and refreshed his court with the soft breezes that blew from the lily of my tongue."[3]

The assemblies of these great khâns were, as we can well imagine, scenes of pleasant festivities where the sweet melody of the 'rabâb' filled the air like the perfumes that burnt in silver censers and where the forbidden liquid, the red juice of the grape, flowed and overflowed on all sides. The aged and stern monarch, Balban, was now a puritan and had renounced wine,[4] and so naturally did not approve much of such almost bacchanalian parties. Discipline was his great passion and he kept a strict control over the actions of his own sons and grandsons,[5] and took great care to keep them away from such festive gatherings. It was, probably, secretly and in constant dread of the royal wrath, that some of them managed to spend a pleasant night in one of the merry assemblies held in the houses of some of the nobles, and one such stolen visit proved

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(1) The translation is doubtful. The ms. has قصیدهٔ چند سالی کہ حولی دیگر ان تواند گفت

(2) Referring of course to the malik.

(3) Dibâcha Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl.

(4) See supra.

(5) See for instance the account given by Barni of the early training of Kaikâbad which we shall utilise later on.

ultimately to be the cause of an estrangement between Khusrau and his patron. The poet relates the story himself thus: "One day the younger son of the king, Bughra Khan, was kind enough to come as a guest to the house of the great Khan, (Kishlû Khan)[1] who was his cousin. The visit was a secret one, for reports of their festive gatherings were always conveyed to the king. The prince had with him some of his confidential attendants, among whom were Shamsuddin Dabîr[2] and Qâdir Athîr. The presence of these two scholars was like the conjunction of the two auspicious planets[3] or the combination of the sun and the moon, and I, who am Mercury,[4] felt flattered to be in that company. On their side, these two tried to establish their sway in the domain of poetry, and in response I sounded so loudly the sweet drum of poesy that I did not yield them the palm. The rumblings that arose from the two sides opened wide the ears of the two great princes[5] as well as their attendants, and as the poets recited their verses, the cloud of their generosity rained so heavily that it moistened all that is on the surface of the earth. Wonderful gold-scattering! The eyes of the beholder became yellow[6] at the sight of the dinars[7] and the skirts of their robes were torn, with the weight of the gold they held, like the rose, in a hundred shreds

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(1) The name is always spelt like this in the ms. As it is a Turkish name, I believe both readings Kishlû and Kishlî are admissible, for lû and lî, denoting an iḍâfat or epithet are always used indiscriminately in Turkish.

(2) A contemporary noble, scholar and poet, whom we shall meet again during the course of our narrative.

(3) Venus and Jupiter.

(4) Uṭârid is the 'kâtib-i-falak' (the Scribe of the sky) and hence the planet of learning and scholarship.

(5) Bughra Khan and Malik Kishlî Khan.

(6) Yarqânî, literally, jaundiced.

(7) Khusrau here used the word dînâr, evidently, in its general sense of any gold coin, as distinct from dirhem, a coin of baser metal. The usual currency of his day consisted of 'tankah' of either gold or silver and jitals, a very small copper coin. The gold and silver tankahs in those days weighed generally and grains respectively.

My sweet verses suited so well the taste of Bughra Khan that, out of that generosity which is the characteristic of kings and princes, he ordered a dish full of silver tankahs[1] to be brought to me as a present from himself, and with this generous gift he made me a grateful slave of his.

"Our Khan was, however, of a very jealous temperament, and his face at once showed signs of displeasure. I saw that and tried to reconcile him, but he would not listen to any of my explanations. Several days passed after this incident and still the memory of the past events was not wiped away from his mind. He wanted to punish me and to make me the target of the dart of his anger. As I thought of that dart, my heart ached, (and I thought it better to seek protection in flight). So I bolted away like an arrow."[2]

The unfortunate incident ended the relationship between the Khan and the poet, and the latter was now faced with the problem of finding another suitable patron. Bughra Khan, whose other name was Nâsiruddîn, was now the governor of Sâmana, an important fortress, that, like Multan, guarded the route leading from the frontiers to the capital, Delhi.[3] while his elder brother Muhammad, the favourite son of their father, held the governorship of Multan since after the death of Sher Khan, the able general who had done so much to aid Balban in keeping at bay the marauding Mongols. He had already appreciated Khusrau's talent[4] and so naturally the poet thought of him in this hour of distress. He betook himself to Samana, and the prince, from what he had heard and seen of the poet, was only too glad to

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(1) The ms. has تنگہ سفید جغز الق The sense of جغز الق is not quite clear. Probably the poet simply means 'white as jughrat' (curds) as he is writing with analogies derived from edibles

(2) Dîbâcha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl.

(3) Samana, a strong fortress in old days.

(4) Vide Supra.

receive him under his protection. Khusrau soon became his cherished boon companion.(1) "I began to serve him," he says, "and every day I rose higher in his favour and esteem."(2)

But soon afterwards the poet was dislodged from this refuge and haven of rest and had to make, probably, the first long journey of his life.

Tughril, a Turkish slave, held the provinces of Lakhnauti and Bengal under Balban. He was a strong, energetic and brave man, and succeeded in bringing the provinces under his complete control. He reduced Hâjînagar(3) and won large plunder in the shape of gold, jewels, elephants and horses. But his successes turned his head and the natives of those parts, always ready to rebel, so that the province of Lakhnauti had acquired the nickname of Bulghâkpûr(The City of Revolt), succeeded in inducing him to throw over the yoke of Delhi and to declare his independence. Tughril, in the 14th year of Balban's reign, or about 676 H., proclaimed himself king of Lakhnauti and Bengal, assumed the title of Mughîthuddîn, and the privileges of 'Khutba'(4) and 'Sikka'(5) and refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of Delhi, keeping to himself all the rich spoils he had obtained in Hâjînagar. The king, Balban, he thought was too old and too preoccupied with the Mongol scare to turn his attention seriously to Lakhnauti. But he was soon to be disillusioned.

Balban, on hearing of this rebellion, the only one of his otherwise peaceful reign, sent an army to Lakhnauti under Amin Khan, but this army was routed and put to flight by the

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(1) Nadîm

(2) Dibâcha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl.

(3) Sic in Barni. Firishta and Khusrau,however,give the name as Jâjnagar.

(4) For a full account of Khutba, its significance and history, see Ency. of Islam, V.II, p. 980 seq.

(5) Coinage. The right of minting and issuing coinage has always been a royal prerogative.

superior forces of Tughril, whose lavish gifts had procured him supporters even in the royal army. The defeated general returned to Delhi and was mercilessly punished by being hanged on the Badaon Gate, as the stern king wanted to make this a warning to his generals. He then sent another army, but Tughril, encouraged by his first success, fell upon it and defeated it with great slaughter. This second disaster exhausted the king's patience. He was mad with rage, and bit his shoulders in his fury. The rainy season was fast approaching, but, disregarding all obstacles, he at once prepared to march on Lakhnauti himself. He made extensive preparations for the provision of boats and other requisites, placed Delhi under the charge of the Kotwal, the Amîr-ul-Umara, and distributing the territory of Samana and Sonâm among various nobles, and appointing Malik Sûnaj Sarjândâr[1] the Nâib of Samana, asked his son Bughrâ Khan to accompany him with his followers and retainers to Lakhnauti.

Thus it was that Khusrau had also to share the hardships of the arduous royal march to Lakhnauti. He had to do so much against his will, we presume, for there is a distinct strain of bitterness in his account of the journey. But the prince

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(1) Sarjândâr. Jândâr means generally an armour-bearer or a guard, a custodian, in which latter sense it was employed in those days in India. Firishta explains 'jândârs" as 'Khâsa Khail', which Raverty interprets as 'slaves' and so remarks: "But such cannot be correct for Sultan Muizuddin himself was 'Sar-i-jândâr' to his brother Ghiyâthuddîn. The jândârs were generally slaves, as most trustworthy, no doubt." Why 'Khâsa Khail' should be taken to mean 'slaves' is not very clear. 'Khâsa' (more correctly Khassa) means more often 'private' confidential, and hence exclusive and royal. It is thus that khasa in India often meant the royal food, being, no doubt a contraction of 'Khasa ta'âm' or 'Ta'âm-i-khassa'. Hence 'Khasa Khail would be the royal cavalry or the king's guards and Sarjândar the chief officer of those guards, corresponding to the English 'Master of the Horse' and to the Egyptian Amir-e Jândâr, the chief of the guards of the Zardah Khâna or royal prison. Elliot has changed the word into 'Sirjândar' and several other historians into 'Sarjâmdâr'. (See Raverty T.N. p. 603, N.7 and Lane's Arabian Nights, V. II, p. 238 N. 91 Chapter X.)

naturally, did not want to part with such a lively and pleasant companion. "All at once," says Khusrau, "the sublime banners moved from the capital city of Delhi in hot haste towards Lakhnauti, and cutting through the river (Saru) with the glittering swords proceeded towards the Eastern Ocean. The prince was already preparing to start when the king's emissary arrived, and at once, in obedience to the royal orders, with a numerous army he joined the camp of the ruler of the world."(1)

No sooner had the king crossed the river than the rains set in in real earnest,(2) and the royal army had to make long forced halts on its way through the flooded country. "For one year we tramped on and yet the journey was not over," says the poet. Tughril, on hearing of the approach of the king, gathered together all his treasures, and with these he fled away towards Hâjînagar, taking with him also a large number of the inhabitants of Lakhnauti whom he had induced to follow him with promises of an early return to their homes. "The king will soon get weary of this wild goose chase and would not stay in Lakhnauti long. We can then return peacefully," he assured them. But he was again mistaken. Balban was a man of iron determination, and was not to be deterred by any obstacles. "I shall follow him even into the sea," he declared, and having reached and occupied Lakhnauti, he proceeded towards Hâjînagar. The march now became more difficult. "During the journey of 150 kurohs," continues Khusrau, "on that side of Lakhnauti(3) the burdens(4) and the saddle-cloths

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(1) Dîbâcha Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl.

(2) Most of this account is based on Barni's description of the campaign, supplemented by Khusrau's brief allusions to it, the only two contemporary authorities. Firishta's account, which he has apparently borrowed from Barni, is almost identical with that of the older historian.

(3) Azân-sûi (i.e. beyond).

(4) Hâla and tamlît. The idea is that the march was so quick and unremittent.

could scarcely be taken off from the backs of the beasts, for each of those hundred and fifty kurohs was a veritable infliction.(1) The country was full of marauding Hindus,(2) who, in the hope of getting spoils, and relying on the (difficult nature) of that land, carried on their crafty raids on us.(3) There were marshes all over the track, such that if I were caught in one of them, I should have been lost in what they call the Black Water and the Dark Clay."

The king having arrived at Sunargaon, saw the rajah of that place and took from him a promise to bar Tughril's flight as far as possible. He then moved on towards Hâjînagar, but could find no trace of the fugitive. When he was only about fifty to sixty kurohs from Hâjînagar he appointed one of his generals(4) to proceed in advance of the main army and to reconnoitre the whereabouts of Tughril. A small party of this advance-guard luckily got hold of two traders who were returning from Tughril's camp after executing some transactions there. Threats of death soon extorted from them the secret of the enemy's camp. Tughril's army had halted in a grove near a tank, and putting off their arms and unloading their beasts, were engaged in various peaceful occupations, - cooking, bathing, sleeping and singing. The small party, headed by Malik Mohd the Lion-killer,(5) the governor of Kaul, and his

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(1) "کره نبود جبر بود بی جبر و کره" a curious play on the words کره and جبر.

(2) هندوانِ هراج or هرج و مرج both هرج and مرج meaning disturbance and confusion, or sedition.

(3) با گرگم جنگ روباه بازی نشنید literally 'waged a fox-faced war against my wolf.'

(4) Barni gives the name of the general as Malik Bârbek Bektars Sultâni (p. 88). The full name given on p. 24 is Malik Ikhtiyâruddin Bektars Sultani Barbek.

(5) Shîr-andâz, probably a title bestowed on the occasion of some successful encounter with a lion or a tiger, like Shîr-afgan.

brother, Malik Muqaddar, afterwards known as 'Tughril slayer'[1], fell upon the unwary foe, and before the latter could overcome their surprise, captured and slew Tughril. His followers fled away in panic, and soon the main advance-guard joined the gallant maliks. All the treasures, elephants, slaves, wives, sons and daughters of Tughril fell into the hands of the victors, and his head was sent to the royal 'presence'. Tughril having been thus 'clipped'[2], as Khusrau says, the king rewarded richly the brave officers, sent a long and jubilant letter of victory to Delhi, and demonstrated his wrath by lining the main thoroughfare of Lakhnauti, a kuroh long, with gibbets on which were hanged the relations and friends of the unfortunate rebel.

The king now appointed his son, Bughra Khan, the governor of Lakhnauti and Bengal, and invested him with 'chatr'[3] and 'dûrbâsh'[4]. "With the governorship of Lakhnauti and the red umbrella, the prince was so exalted," says Khusrau, "that his lofty head reached the azure vault of heaven itself."[5]

Balban now turned back towards the capital, but before that, he called his son Bughra Khan and his secretary Shamsuddin Dabir to his presence, and dictated a long code of moral and political principles to be scrupulously adhered to by his son, laying special stress on the latter's submission

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(1) Tughril-Kush: it was he who beheaded Tughril.

(2) Dîbâcha: Ghurra: reading "pargum kardand", but another reading may be "parkam kardand", meaning 'rendered helpless, prostrate,'etc. Khusrau (vide Farhang-i-Rashidi) says

؎ مورکہ پر یافت نہ پرکم بود ؎ پرزدلنش زالنسوئ عالم بود ؎

(3) A canopy or umbrella, a sign and emblem of authority. A black umbrella was the exclusive sign of royalty, and the king alone used it.

(4) A forked spear, carried before great notables. It was richly studded . The name is evidently derived from its function - something to keep the populace at a respectful distance from the noble cavalcade. See also infra.

(5) Dibâcha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl.

and faithful obedience to the king of Delhi, whoever he might happen to be.

Shamsuddin Dabîr, a scholar and a talented poet himself, was a great patron of poetry, and had been very kind to Khusrau from the very beginning of the latter's career. Khusrau acknowledged his gratitude to him on several occasions during the course of his writings.(1) The secretary, as appreciative of the poet's value as a companion as was his master, Bughra Khan, wanted to detain Khusrau in Lakhnauti. But the latter could not be persuaded to remain there. He was loth to leave Delhi and live in a marsh-ridden province so far from his relatives and friends. "Malik Shamsuddîn," he says, "wanted to persuade me to stay there, but I was concerned at the separation from my dear ones. So like Joseph, from that prison-well I started towards the populous Egypt (or city مصر) and under the protection of the royal standard, reached the city(of Delhi)." The probable date of his arrival there is about the year 680 H.

When the king reached Delhi there was great rejoicing in the capital and all over the neighbouring places. Tâjiks(2) and Turks as well as Hindus greeted the victorious sovereign with rich presents. Feasting and merry-making went on for days together. Prince Mohammad Qâân, afterwards known as

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(1) See for instance the ode No. 25, fol. 34, I.O. ms. 1187 of the Tuhfat-ul-Sighar, beginning:

دمنہ زرزدل ودیدہ ترکس وسحنش ؛ کند جو باد صبا وصف غنچہ وغنچش ؛

(2) An ambiguous term, denoting often civilised town-dwellers of Central Asia in contrast to the nomadic people of those regions known as Turks. It is no doubt the same word as Tâzî, the Persian appellation for an Arab, and its Chinese version Tâhi, whence it has also been used in the sense of 'westerner' or foreigner. Tâjik is also often used to distinguish the inhabitants of Turkestan with regular Aryan features from the Mongols or Tartars. See Târikh-i-Rashîdî, Edit. Elias and Ross, pp. 85, 87, 90 and 91 of the Introduction.

Khân-i-Shahîd, was among those who came to Delhi to offer their homage and felicitations to the aged monarch. He came from Multan with rich presents and Tartar horses which he had gathered together during his father's absence from Delhi. The Sultan was immensely pleased by his favourite son's obedience and filial regard. Now Prince Mohd had inherited several of the good qualities of his father. He was brave and courageous, a good soldier and an efficient commander, but he had none of Balban's sternness and dry puritanism. He was, on the contrary, a gentle and amiable man, fond of poetry and music, and also of the pleasures of life. He had, no doubt, often heard of the rising poet, and had even, perhaps, heard some of his fine odes from his own lips in the assemblies of the khans and maliks during his visits to the capital. What could be more natural than that he should, at this time of universal rejoicing and happiness, invite the poet to his presence and ask him to recite some of his verses?

"In those days," says Khusrau, "the honoured Khan, the great Qân Malik, had come to Delhi after the victory of Dam(?) and as my fortune was fated to be linked up with his, he was pleased to ask about the ripe fruit of my speech (i.e. poetry). I took to him a few verses that happened to be ready. The prince appreciated them very much and rewarded me with a robe of honour[1] and a cap." The prince asked Khusrau to accompany him to Multan and the poet, readily agreeing, "tied the ceinture of service round his waist and donned the cap of companionship on his head."[2]

After Delhi, Multan was certainly the most important city of the kingdom in those days. Its situation on the route of the Mongol invaders gave it a great strategic im-

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(1) Tashrîf, in the sense of 'Khil'at' (more correctly Khal'at). Hafiz says: خواجه تشریف فرستادی وقبال ۔ عالمت افزون بادو حضرت بالا

(2) Dîbâcha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl:

portance. It had been the seat of the governors of Sind for a long time, and some of them, like Nâsiruddin Qubâcha, with their generosity and hospitality had gathered within it a large number of nobles and scholars who came fleeing to India before the Mongol onslaught.(1) It was thus a literary centre of no mean rank, and was at the same time a prosperous trade centre. Here came the traders from across the border with the rich manufactures of Balkh and Bukhara and the luscious fruit of Samarqand and Qandhar, and the Multani merchants became rich and prosperous money-lenders whose aid was eagerly sought by the extravagantly generous maliks and khans for replenishing their dwindling funds.(2) The city was also the refuge of certain saintly personages whose spiritual sway over the masses was both vast and strong, and while Sheikh Nizâmuddin Auliyâ(3) lived and preached in the days of which we are speaking in Delhi, one of his rivals, Sheikh Sadruddin, son of Sheikh Bahâuddin Zakariyya, was the spiritual head of the sufis in Multan.

Prince Mohammad's residence in Delhi was the haunt of scholars and saints,(4) and his court in Multan rivalled, perhaps, even the court of his royal father. "His court was filled with wise men and scholars and skilful artists. His boon-companions read the Shâh-Nâmah, the dîwâns of Sanâ'î and Khâqânî,

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(1) Among the refugees was Maulana Qutbuddîn Kâshânî, who came from Trans-oxiana, and who was famous for his knowledge and scholarship. Nâsiruddîn Qubâcha built a sarai with a college attached to it, specially for him in Multan. (Firishta: Text v. II, p. 408). He later went and settled in Delhi.

(2) See Barni, p. where he mentions the 'sahs' or money-lenders of Delhi with Multanis.

(3) We shall speak of him at length in a later chapter.

(4) According to Barni, Prince Mohammad was more fond of the society of learned men, while his younger brother Bughra Khan liked better the company of musicians and jesters.

and the Khamsa of Sheikh Nizâmî, and learned critics discussed before him the (merits of the)verses of these great men." Courteous and polite, the prince was one of the most cultured men of his time. He knew well how to appreciate merit and how to reward it. He was scrupulous to a fault in the observance of decorum. "If he had to sit for a day and a night together on the seat of 'amârat'[1] (governorship) he never once raised his knees up and was never seen sitting cross-legged[2], on such occasions." Never did an abusive word profane his lips and he was never immoderate in drinking wine. He was respectful towards persons of sanctity and holiness and would stand in humble attitudes in their presence. One day Sheikh Uthmân, and Sheikh Ṣadruddîn attended his assembly, and the two saints began to dance in ecstasy on hearing some Arabic verses recited by the 'qawwâls'.[3] The prince got up and stood by in a respectful attitude, his eyes filled with tears, and remained like that till the saints had finished their mystic frolics and subsided to their usual equanimity and gravity. He was extremely fond of poetry and had a very good taste and a refined judgment. He had a manuscript written by himself in an elegant hand, which contained a selection of about twenty thousand verses from the greatest of the old masters, and testified to his sense of the beautiful and noble in poetry.

Among the brightest gems in his court which was, in Firishta's words, 'the envy of the garden of Paradise', the most

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(1) Amârat: the office of an amîr; here that of a governor and ruler.

(2) The original has 'murabbâ' which would mean literally 'squared' or square-legged, an easy and unconventional sitting-pose among the orientals.

(3) Qawwâl, a singer or musician, who specialises in singing mystical verses, or 'qaul' a form of melody. These singers generally perform in parties or three or more, and are largely patronised by the Chishtiya sect of the sufis. Several accomplished qawwâls were present, probably, in Multan in those days, as it was a great centre of the saints of this order. Firishta (Pers. Text p. 406 V. II) mentions particularly one named 'Abdullah, who came to that city from Turkey (Rum) and enlivened the assemblies of Sheikh Bahâuddin Zakariyya, the father of Sheikh Ṣadruddîn of Multan.

prominent were our poet Khusrau and his bright friend and contemporary, Amir Najmuddîn Hasan Sanjarî, whose friendship Khusrau seems to have formed in his early youth.

Romantic stories have been woven round the two poets and their friendship has been glorified into a mystic love. According to Firishta, Amira Khusrau, in the prime of his youth, was passing through a street in the august company of his preceptor, the Sheikh Nizâmuddin Awliya and some of his disciples when Hasan, who was in those days a comely youth, was sitting in the shop of a baker. Amir Khusrau's eye lighted on Hasan and, attracted by his beauty, he went to the shop and asked him, "How do you sell bread?" Hasan replied: "I place bread in one of the scales of the balance and ask the customer to place his money in the other, and if the money is heavier, I let him go (with the bread)." Khusrau said: "But what would you do if the customer happened to be a poor man?" "Oh," replied Hasan, "in that case I should accept his love and humility in place of money." Khusrau was astonished and pleased with his witty talk, and mentioned him to his sheikh. Khwaja Hasan, also conceiving a strong passion for Khusrau, left the shop, and although he did not become a disciple of the Sheikh immediately, he busied himself with greater vigour in the acquisition of knowledge and virtue and began to frequent the abode of the Sheikh. so that a great friendship sprang up between him and Amir Khusrau.(1)

Firishta then narrates how the two poets went to Multan, Khusrau as the 'mushafdâr'(2) and Hasan as the 'dawâtdâr'(3) of Prince Muhammad, and how their love became widely known till some scandalmongers cast aspercions on their character in the

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(1) Firishta: Text, p. 402 V. II; see also Shiblî Shi'rul 'Ajam, V. II, p. 115 seq.

(2) Mushafdâr, the keeper of the mushaf or the Koran, a nominal office that simply implied an attendance on the dignitary bestowing it.

(3) The keeper of the inkstand, i.e. of the writing case or portfolio. An office similar to that of a mushafdar.

presence of the prince, saying they belonged to the malamati sect.[1] The prince, it is said, forbade Hasan to visit Khusrau, but that availed nothing, so that he one day had him whipped. The young man was, however, no sooner out of the court than he went to his friend Khusrau. Exasperated at this open defiance of his authority, the prince ordered both of them to his presence and asked them to explain their conduct. "We are one, body and soul,"[2] said Khusrau. The prince demanded evidence of the purity of their love, whereupon Khusrau put his arm out of his sleeve and recited: "The witness of a true lover is in the sleeve."[3] The prince saw that Khusrau's arm bore traces of whipping exactly at the same spots where his friend Hasan was struck, and was silenced. Then Amir Khusrau recited the following quatrain:

> "Love came and spread like blood in my veins. It emptied me of all else and filled me with my friend. All the atoms of my existence belong to the loved one: my name alone remains by me, all else is his."[4]

Khusrau then wanted to resign his office, but the prince refused to let him do so.

The story may or may not be true. There is nothing intrinsically impossible or absurd about it. Such mystic and platonic love was a common occurrence among the Sufis, who in fact recognised it as an important stage in the progress of the novice towards real or divine love, the 'ishq-i-haqîqî, as they called it.[5]

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(1) A sect of the sufis who court 'malâmat' (reproach, abuse) by doing reprehensible deeds, seeking thereby to curb their vanity and egoism. A great supporter of this doctrine says: المَلَامَةُ تُرْكُ السَّلَامَة

(2) "دوئی از میان ما رفت بسته"
(Literally, "Duality has departed from between us.")

(3) گواه عاشق صادق در آستین باشد Referring evidently to the 'yad-i-baida', the 'luminous hand' of Moses (Koran). It may also mean 'is always ready to hand' or 'is not difficult to produce.'

(4) Firishta Text, II, 402.

But what makes one suspect its authenticity is the fact that Barni, the contemporary historian, makes no mention of a 'love' between the two poets. He speaks of their friendship, which, according to his own version, was in a way brought about by himself.(1) One may even admit that the friendship was a very close one, for Khusrau, in his Afzal-ul-Fawaid, mentions him as "my brother"(2), although it is not quite safe to draw this conclusion from the polite form of appellation so commonly employed among friends not necessarily very intimate. But that the friendship had in it something of the intense passion characteristic of love which can really exist only between members of the opposite sexes, is hard to believe. There is no internal evidence whatsoever to this effect, either in the writings of Khusrau or in those of Hasan. In fact, one is singularly struck by the absence of any reference or allusion to each other by the two poets in their poems, and were it not for an occasional mention of Hasan's name by Khusrau in his prose works, notably Afzal-ul-Fawâid, and the evidence supplied by Barni, one would have been loth to believe even the existence of an ordinary friendship synonymous with mutual respect between the two contemporaries. Several biographers quote a quatrain of Hasan to prove his esteem and affection for Khusrau, but most of them give only the first two lines and omit the other two, thus drawing a favourable conclusion for themselves. But the whole quatrain is not at all capable of an interpretation that is generally given to it. The original runs thus:-

خسرو از راه کرم بپذیرد: آنچه من بنده حسن میگویم
سخنم چو سخن خسرو نیست: سخن اینست که من میگویم (3)

which is, I think, rather a sarcastic allusion to Khusrau.

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(1) Barni, p. 60.

(2) See, for instance, p. ;9; (Alfzal-ul-Fawâid).

(3) Dîwân of Hasan (B.M. ms. fragments)

The name Khusrau in the first line is used in the sense of a prince or a king, and I would translate it thus:

> "The king kindly accepts what this poor slave Hasan says. My poetry is not like that of Khusrau: poetry is this that I compose."

The last line is certainly not very complimentary to Khusrau. There was, one is tempted to suspect, a certain amount of rivalry between the two poets, in spite of their friendship and comradeship as fellow-officers in the court of Prince Muhammad in their youth, and as disciples of Nizâmuddin Auliya in their riper years, and the suspicion is strengthened by these lines as well as by Khusrau's caustic remarks, scattered all through his works, against his contemporary poets who, according to him, pilfered and pinched his verses and tried with ungrateful audacity to vie with him in the realm of poesy. Khusrau, of course, mentions no names: he was too sensible and polite to do that. But the fact that he makes no exceptions and does not anywhere speak of Hasan in terms of admiration and applause,[1] would tend to show that he included him in the general condemnation. This sort of professional jealousy can easily be understood when we consider the peculiar conditions of their age. The poets had not only their fame and glory to guard with jealous care, but also the rich stipends and presents from their patrons, that could be snatched away from them by their successful rivals. Thus, on the whole, while one could readily concede that the two poets were good friends as far as social intercourse is concerned, it is not at all established that the friendship had developed into 'love' and that they were 'one, body and soul.'

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(1) At one place only, in his dibâcha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl, Khusrau mentions Hasan's name as a poet of distinction. While trying to prove the superiority of Persian poetry over Arabic poetry, he says: "If anybody praises the hollow verse of Muizzi for the elegance of its style and the beauty of its ideas, he ought to study the words and ideas of Syed Hasan (sic), Nizâmi and Zahîr."

(Ind. Off. ms. fol. 10 seq.)

The author of the Baharistân-i-Sukhan, has also tried to disprove this story, but the argument he advances against its probability is not very satisfactory, and is based on an erroneous conjecture of Sheikh Abdul Haq of Delhi, who says in his Akhbâr-ul-Akhyâr: "It appears that Hasan was a little senior to Khusrau, for while the former has composed several splendid odes in praise of Ghiyâthuddîn Balban, there are few such panegyrics in the poetical works of the latter."(1) That Hasan was not senior to Khusrau, but was, in fact, born in the same year as his contemporary, and that the latter has also several fine odes in praise of Balban, we shall see later on.

To resume our story, however, Khusrau and Hasan remained in Multan with the unfortunate prince till his death under tragic circumstances in the year 683 H. "For five years," says Khusrau, "I watered the five rivers of Multan with the seas of my delectable verses."(2) Life there must have been comparatively dull for the lively poet. The court of the prince, no doubt, was resplendent in glory, his assemblies were attended by brilliant scholars, and his wine-parties were enlivened by famous musicians. But the city itself, lying amidst a desert country far from the capital, with the Mongols always hammering at its gates, was, one would think, not a very pleasant place to live in for one who had been used to the ease and comforts of a life in Delhi. The poet had, moreover, to accompany the prince in his campaigns against the Mongols to several other more unpleasant and dreary places - to the outlying fortresses on the frontier, garrisoned by the

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(1) See Shibli: Shi'rul-'Ajam II, 116[n 1]; Akhbâr-ul-Akhyâr (Delhi 1309 H.) p. 100.

(2) Dîbâcha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl. By Multan, the poet here evidently means the whole province, watered by the five rivers, the Punjab, as it is now called. He is, of course, punning on the word بحر which means both 'Sea' and 'Metre' and on آب meaning 'Water' as well as 'Splendour, glory', etc.

rough Afghans[1]. During his sojourn in one of these fortresses, he wrote a long letter to Ikhtiyaruddin[2], in which he bewails his separation from Delhi and the hardships he has to endure.[3]

"My abode was," says he, "the Arch of Islam, the 'qibla' of the kings of the seven realms - Delhi, that twin sister of the blessed Heaven, a tract of paradise on the surface of the earth. The nine skies cast their hallowing shadow over it and the seven realms are but like the chain[4] at its gate. Its lofty palaces raise their heads to the skies and overshadow the sun itself, while its streets are so thronged with men that the eye roving on them is filled with images that leave no place even for the pupil of the eye.[5] .... Its green fields are bedecked with roses, and its springs are brighter than bright eyes - running waters pleasant as life, like milk flowing through sugar. The tank of the Sultan, with its colours and illuminations[6] looks like molten silver cast into stone. Its gardens are full of pleasure-seekers, rose-cheeked beauties with pierced ears, bright as the pearls of their ear-rings. The melodies of the 'rûd' and the 'rahâb' that rise in the gardens intoxicate the trees and render the fountains drowsy. My days passed there in seeing new sights on all sides, and the nights in enjoying the company of a fair one. Perchance I was an incubus on that fair garden[7], so that fate has imprisoned me in this land of thorns - a fortress hot as the blazing furnace .... full of beasts and brutes,

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(1) The Afghan garrisons dated back from the time of Nâsir-uddin Mahmûd, when Balban was in charge of the north-west provinces.

(2) The great noble, Malik Ikhtiyâruddin Bektars Sultânî Bârbek, who led the expedition against Tughril.

(3) Tuhfat-us-Sighar (I.O. ms. 1187) fol. 50 seq.

(4) (حلقہ) literally the ring of the knocker

(5) I translate here freely. The reading is not very clear.

(6) The original has روشنائی which may also mean 'brightness'. He is speaking of the haudi-Shamsî.

(7) The original has دستان 'dastân', but I read بستان 'bustân.

like a wilderness. .... In this fortress live the Afghans - nay, man-staying[1] demons, for even the demons groan in fright at their shouts. Their heads like big sacks of straw,[2] their beards like the comb of the weaver, long-legged as the stork but more ferocious than the eagle, their heads lowered like that of the owl of the wilderness[3]. Their voices are hoarse and shrill like that of a jack-daw, their mouths open like that of a shark,[4] Their tongue is blunt like a home-made arrow, and flings stones like the sling of a battering-ram.[5] Well has a wise man said that when speech was sent to men from the sky, the Afghans got the last and least share of it.[6]

Yet he could come to his beloved city and meet his relatives at least once a year, for Prince Muhammad paid annual visits to the royal court, where he laid before the feet of his father such treasures as he had managed to collect during the space of the preceding year, and whence he went back to his provincial seat loaded with new favours and fresh blessings from his father.

Khusrau must by this time have been married. The verse translated above would tend to show this. Curiously enough, all his biographers are silent on this point, and we have no idea when or to whom he was married. But that he was married and had several children is evident from his own writings, as we shall see hereafter. These visits to Delhi must, then,

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(1) Mardumgîr, literally, 'man-catching'.

(2) Referring probably to their large unwieldy turbans, or to their big heads with unkempt, plentiful crops of thick hair.

(3) A very masterly caricature of the Afghans. The description would apply splendidly to a Pathan of the Indian frontier.

(4) The original has شارک 'shârak', a talking bird of India, called generally 'maina', but I render it by shark as a more appropriate word.

(5) So their language was as harsh in those days as to-day. Pashto is proverbial for its hard grating sounds.

(6) I give the sense only. The reading is corrupt.

must have been fraught with special interest and attraction for the poet. Probably he never took his wife and children with him to Multan. That was not the fashion of the day, and, then, it was not quite safe in those unsettled times to take one's women-folk about through regions that were constantly a scene of warfare and turmoil. He must have been contented during these five years to see his dear ones for just a few weeks in a year, and we can well imagine the sorrows of the long days of waiting and the pangs of the tender and sad partings. It was, probably, at one of these sad farewells that he was moved to say:

"A great sorrow it is to be separated from the loved one. Ah, to whom shall I narrate the story of my doleful separation?"(1)

On the whole, however, this was perhaps the happiest period of the poet's life. He had established his claim to be the foremost poet of the age. He was still comparatively young, full of vigour and ambition, and each day mellower and richer strains came out of his lyre. His fame spread far and wide, and his fine odes in praise of the gallant prince were the envy of his rivals. He had now made the second collection of his poems, and the new 'dîwân' which he called 'Wast-ul-Hayât'(2) passed from hand to hand. He was known even in Persia, the land of roses and poetry, where Sa'dî, now an old man, was unquestionably the greatest master. It is said that Prince Muhammad, always anxious to collect about him the greatest and the most respected scholars and poets of his age, wanted Sa'dî also to come and settle at Multan. Twice he sent some of his

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(1) Qirân-us-Sa'dain, p. 163.
ط سخت دشوار است تنها ماندن از دلدار خویش ؛ باکه گویم حال تنها ماندن دشوار خویش ؛
A very fine ghazel, another verse being:-
هر که روزی ناوکی خورده است آن داند که چیست ؛ درد مجروحی که نالد از دل افگار خویش ؛

(2) See infra (Poetical Works).

trusted companions with rich presents to the old poet in Shiraz, inviting him to Multan, where he promised to build for him a 'khângâh' and to endow it with a revenue of several towns and villages. But each time Sa'di refused, on the ground of his old age and feeble health, to leave his beloved Shiraz. However, he sent the prince a copy of a selection of his verses in his own handwriting, with profuse excuses, and a special recommendation of Amir Khusrau, for whom he expressed a profound admiration.(1)

It is, perhaps, this incident that has helped the formation of a papular belief, namely that Sheik Sa'di in his old age came to Delhi expressly to see Amir Khusrau.(2) That Sa'di came to India at any period of his life has been the subject of a great controversy. He claims in his own works that he did so, and saw 'the ivory idol' of Somnath, as 'richly adorned as the Manât' in Pre-Islamic Arabia,(3) and the "unclean mughs" worshipping round it.(4) Several scholars, however, are inclined to discredit the visit and to consider Sa'di's account of it as "an imaginary narrative analogous to those which one finds in the 'Assemblies of Harîrî'." But as Henry Massé points out, in the absence of any proofs to the contrary, it is unfair to reject as fables all that Sheikh Sa'di says of his visit to India, although it is possible that his account of the things he claims to have seen is highly coloured. A trip to India, either through the over-land trade-route

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(1) See Firishta: Text V. I, p. 79; and Badaoni V. I, p.130 (Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1868).

(2) Daulat Shah after Azuri (Jawâhir-ul-Asrâr) etc. One is astonished to read in the Cambridge History of India, V. III, p. 135: "Amir Khusrau had a deep veneration for Sa'di, whom he entertained when he visited India,...."

(3) Bûstân. بحق دیدم از عاج در سومنات ؛ مرصّع چو در جاهلیّت منات ؛

(4) Mugh or Magh, a magian or fire-worshipper. The Persians often confounded the fire-worshippers of their own country with the Brahmins of India. (مغان بی وضو گردمی در نماز)

(Ibid).

from Khwarizm and Khorasan to Sind, or by boat from Shiraz to the north-western coast of India, was nothing impracticable or impossible for a man who has spent a large portion of his life in wandering through "the extremes of the world"[1], mixing with diverse peoples and getting into all sorts of scrapes. According to Ibn-i-Khurdadbih, Jewish merchants came to India as early as 864 A.D. (250 H.), and, as De Massé asks pertinently, why should we be sceptical about Sa'di's visit to India in the seventh century of the Hejira when we take for granted (as Barbier de Meynard does) that Mas'ûdi came to that country in the fourth century?[2]

But, although we may concede reasonably that the old master of Shiraz came to India, probably visiting Gujrat and Sind, we have absolutely no evidence to establish his visit to Delhi. On the contrary, the story is evidently a myth. An event of such importance, the visit of a famous poet of Persia, whose books were the talk of the whole of Asia and who was venerated and imitated by poets far and wide, to the brilliant capital of India, could not have been ignored by contemporary historians and other writers, and Khusrau, at least, must have made some allusion to it in his copious prose and poetic works.[3] Thus, although some very old authorities like Jâmî and Daulat Shah assert that Khusrau met Sheikh Sa'di, it is extremely doubtful that he ever did so, or that the

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(1) Sa'di: Ghulistân: در اقصای عالم بگشتم بسی ؛ بسر بردم ایام با هر کسی

(2) "Essai sur le poète Saadi" par Henri Massé (Paris 1919) p. 40 seq.

(3) According to J. Ross (The Gulistan, p. 19), Sa'di visited Delhi between the years 607 and 633 of the Hegira. But, as Defermery says: "cette opinion de l'orientaliste anglais repose uniquement sur une base ruineuse: la confusion d'Ogoulmisch, prince d'Irak, avec le soverain Patan ou Afgan de Delhi, Altmisch." See Ibid, p. 45 and Defermery: Gulistan (Paris 1858), p. XXII. J. Ross says: "If Amir Khusraw .... was, as Jami says and is generally believed, the youth Sa'di in Gul. V. 17, got so much enraptured with at Cashghur .... Sa'di was still a traveller in A.H. 641, or his 70th year."

latter ever visited Delhi.[1] The two poets, however, knew each other, and while Khusrau, like so many other poets of that age, tried to show his veneration for the old master by imitating his style in lyrical poetry, the latter also condescended, as we have seen, to bestow his blessings and approval on the young disciple.

During the five years of Khusrau's stay in Multan, there were, apparently, several encounters with the Mongols. They came almost every year swooping down on the plains of the Punjab like hungry wolves, and only the most efficient organisation and the keenest watchfulness could keep them off. Prince Muhammad was always on the look out for them and, not content with repulsing their onslaughts, he probably led expeditions against them, and each victory provided a fresh theme for the poet to try his skill on. He is loud in praise of the prince's heroic exploits. "Although each year," he sings, "the Mongols come in serried ranks like storks, with owlish wings and ominous faces, from Khorasan, at the time of their rout under the world-conquering sword of the prince they are rent into morsels and then despatched to kirman (or worms). Fondly do the enemies yield up their ghosts wherever the Turks send the showers of their fatal arrows. Each time when an army of the enemies surging like the sea arrives, a new splendour is imparted to the dust of Multan."[2]

But a catastrophe was approaching, and a cruel fate awaited the brilliant prince. In 683, in the last month of

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(1) According to Jâmî (Nafahât-ul-Uns: Nassau Lees 1859, pp. 710-11) Khusrau in his youth met Sheikh Sa'di and he prided himself on the encounter; but he does not, as J. Ross says, identity him with the comely youth whom Sa'di met at Kashghar. (See N3 p. 82, also Defremery: Gulistân p. XXIV N. 3). Daulat Shah relates the incident on the authority of Âzuri's Jawâhir-ul-Asrâr: (Daulat Shah: Tezkira : p. 239.).

(2) Wast-ul-Hayât (I.O. ms. 1187) fol. 89[b]. Kirman is both the name of a town in Persia and the plural of 'kirm', a worm, and both meanings are apt here. It is interesting to note that the name Kirman is in fact said to have been derived from 'kirm' (a worm). See, for instance, "The Glory of the Shia World" by Sykes and Ahmed Din (1910) pp. 83-85.

the year (i.e. Zulhijja), the prince received news of the arrival of a Mongol force, twenty thousand strong, near Lahore and Dîbâlpur. The invaders were led by Timur[1] Khan who held the provinces of Hirat, Balkh, Badakshan, Ghaznîn, Ghur and Bamayan under Arghûn Khan, the grandson of Hulâgu Khan. Timur came burning with thoughts of revenge for his relatives and kinsfolk killed in previous encounters, and hopes of rich plunder from the land of the five Rivers. The prince at once prepared to meet him, and started in hot haste from Multan early in the morning, reaching the river Ravi (?) at about mid-day. Timur crossed over and attacked the prince's army. A bloody and desperate struggle ensued. Several big Mongol chiefs were slain and their army was forced to retreat. The Indian generals, throwing caution to the winds, in the excitement of victory, started in their pursuit. The prince was left alone with only five hundred of his followers, and coming to the river bank he started to offer his mid-day prayers. A Mongol chieftain who had been lying in ambush with two thousand horse, saw his opportunity and fell upon the prince's army. Prince Muhammad fought heroically, waging a desperate struggle, but an arrow from the famous Mongol bows struck him and he fell dead almost when his brave resistance had tired the Mongols and they were hastening away to join their retreating comrades. The Mongols now cut down mercilessly the panic-stricken followers of the dead prince, and plundering all they could get, and taking most of them prisoners, started back to overtake the main force.[2]

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(1) Badaoni V. I., p. 132 and elsewhere has ايتمر (Itmar), while Barni has ترمر. Prof. Habib (Life and Works) p.15, adopts the reading I-tmar, (following probably Badaoni. Timur is evidently the correct reading.

(2) For the account of this battle see Firishta Text. V. I, p. 82, Barni pp. 109-110; Badaoni (Bib. Ind. 1868) V. I., p. 130 seq. Badaoni also gives an elegy in elegant prose by Hasan, the contemporary of Khusrau.

In his elegy on the sad death of Prince Muhammad, Khusrau describes the campaign and its tragic end very vividly, and I give here a translation of portions of it:(1)

"Is this an affliction or a calamity that the sky has disclosed, and is this a disaster or the Resurrection itself that the world beholds to-day?

What an inauspicious hour was that when the prince started with his army from Multan and drew his infidel-slaying sword to slaughter the unbelievers! When he received news of the enemy's approach, he at once donned the helmet and hoisted his flag. He started with whatever army he had in readiness and did not tarry for reinforcements, for a Rustam does not seek the aid of an army.(2) One swift move brought him to Lahore from Multan, for he was indignant that the enemy should have the audacity to raise his head in his reign. 'Am I not that lion,' he said, 'whose sword, possessing the virtues of fire and water,(3) lays low on dust and ashed thousands of my foes each year? So much of their blood have I made to flow like water that the vultures swim in it as the duck does in the river. This year the ground shall be dyed so red with their blood that the aurora will borrow its red tinge from the earth.'

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(1) The elegy is a very fine specimen of Khusrau's poetry and is full of deep pathos. Note also its accuracy of detail, almost without any exaggerations or boasting. The poet describes the campaign just as it was,- an indecisive duel, wherein no party could claim victory, but which probably would have ended in a retreat of the Mongols (as it ultimately did) and so a success for the Indian troops, had not the whole thing been transformed into a tragedy by the prince's death. The reading adopted is from the India Off. ms. No. 1187 (Wast-ul-Hayat fol. 132b seq.). See also Badaoni Vol. I, p. 138, where the elegy is given in extenso, only the reading is not quite [illegible] literally "for Rustam

(2) زانکه رستم را نباید منت لشکر کشید ؛ literally "for Rustam should not be indebted to an army."

(3) Being bright and bluish like water and destroying the foes as fire destroys fuel.

"He started with this idea, but, alas! the heavenly fates drew across his plans the line of divine Will. On the eve[1] of Muharran he went out with his armies to thrust his spear down into the throats of the foes, and entered the field like Husain of Karbala before the 'Âshûrâ[2] had come, the dust from his horse's hoof supplying collyrium for the Sun's eye. Unhappy hour when the enemy attacked him, crossing the river horde on horde till they drew close to his army! Then you could see the prince's charger clouding the sky with dust and scattering the infidels like dust in its stormy onslaught. You could see the sky resound with the shouts of the warriors and the earth tremble with the swift rush of his horsemen. The rumbling of drums, the neighing of horses, and the war-cries of the knights made plains, deserts and mountains quake. The heroes attacked to wipe out the enemy, while the cowards sought pretexts to escape; but the brave, generous prince on that battlefield thought only of fighting like men and urging his men to fight.

"The day grew dusky while they were engaged in this grim contest, and the sun grew pale as the bright spears met and clashed. Evening was falling when with the blue steel of the swords a sky was woven over the sun of the army, and the lines of swords in the two sides were like advancing shadows as the opponents closed in in the hand-to-hand duel. The earth looked blue as armour touched armour and the plain became like a rose-garden when shield joined shield[4] The dead lay on that field

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(1) Ghurra, the new moon, whence the day preceding the commencement of a lunar month.

(2) The 10th of Muharram, the date on which Husain was slain in Karbala.

(3) Reading the first word as سایه Badaoni (V. I, p. 141) has شانه (a comb) which is perhaps more appropriate. The verse is,

سایه (شانه) را مالست آن صفهای تیغ از هر دو سو : سرکشان چون موی در موئیده گر بر بافتند

(4) The shields in those days were evidently made of tanned red hide, or of some reddish metal like copper.

like figures woven into green tapestry, and still the armies fought till midday grew into evening, face to face, head to head and hair to hair, and during this time the prince's sword did not rest for a single moment in its slaughter of the foes. My God! was it blood that covered the ground or was it a sea-wave that advanced to drown the enemies? The wounded were dying and struggling in their agony, while from their throats streams of blood gushed upwards. One went to Hell and the other to Paradise, although the blood of the infidel and the believer flowed together in one stream.

"The Khan rode his glorious charger, reaching from place to place to arrange his men to give instructions. The Sky seemed to be swinging victory by the hair, now this way, now that way, although she wanted to run to us away from the accursed enemy.(1) The infidels awaited the arrival of night to slink away, but all at once the scales were turned.

"Horrible night when the sun fell from the sky! The demons went round burning the world and the meteor(2) lay helpless! The day of that Sun of the kingdom had reached its close and so although the day was not yet quite spent the sun had set! If Husain trod a waterless way in Karbala, he was the Muhammad who fell in fire by the water. The hearts of men were pierced like a fish-net, for by the guile of the demon the seal of power had fallen into the river from the hand of Jem.(3)

(1) بازپس میبرد گردون موگرفته فتح را؛ فتح پرهنر از ملاعین جانب ماهیگر است میبرد

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(1) بازپس میبرد گردون موگرفته فتح را؛ فتح پرهنر از ملاعین جانب ماهیگر است میبرد

A very picturesque way of describing the severity of the indecisive battle. The second line would tend to support the assertion that the victory had almost been won by the Indian army, when the prince fell dead. Prof. Habib (p 16) says: "The field was irretrievably lost by the Indians," which is not true.

(2) Shihab, alluding to a verse in the Koran, wherein shooting stars are described as being hurled against demons to check their intrusion into the secrets of the skies.

(3) The seal is here the prince, the demons are the Mongols and Jem is the king, alluding to the famous tale of Solomon.

These lines would show that the prince fell dead by the river's bank.

and the believer lay on the earth like a bright pearl in a pool of dirty water. An army faced in the river the storm of disaster, while behold! another army went the way of mirage.(1) All alike fell to the earth, for the dire calamity was a miniature Day of Judgment. The severed heads of the dead, strewn over the field, looked like Indian nuts(2) chased with bright vermilion. Many a live man was there who, scared to death, lay among the dead, his body smeared with gore and his eyes closed in sleep. Nay, surely it was not a débacle - verily I have seen the Last Day itself, for if such be the Last Day, I have seen it clearly.

"Behold how the heavenly decrees turned, imparting to the Centre of Islam(3) the restless motion of a compass! Behold the particle assuming the glory of the Sun's Font, and behold the stone acquiring the lustre of the precious pearl!(4)

"Each year the prince had to deal with the Mongols for the sake of Islam, and behold how at last he has given away his life also in that cause! He departed from this world on Friday, the last day of Zulhijja, the close of the year 683 and the commencement of 684."(5)

It was indeed a terrible blow to India, this disaster at Multan, and the death of the prince who was universally loved, came as a great shock to the aged monarch. Firishta

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(1) فوج دیگر بین کہ در راہ سپاہ افتادہ بود

Alluding apparently to the foolish soldiers who deserted the prince in their pursuit of the Mongols, or the line may simply mean that 'an army disappeared like the mirage' referring to the large number of the slain.

(2) The ms. has خون هندی evidently a mistake for جوز هندی a cocoanut. Badaoni (V. I, p. 144) gives the correct reading. Another possible reading may be خوان هندی Cocoanuts are chased even to-day to make bowls.

(3) Meaning either Multan or Delhi itself.

(4) Alluding to the Mongol success.

(5) This is the correct date. Barni (p. 109) says: در شهور سنه ۶۸۶ while Prof. Habib (Life and Works) gives the date as 687 A.H. (1285 A.D.) (p. 15.)

relates a story in this connection calculated to show that the terrible fate that befel the prince was the outcome of an estrangement between him and the saint Sadruddin of Multan and that it was the spiritual power of that saint that sent him to this untimely death. It is said that the prince had once foolishly divorced his wife, an accomplished and virtuous princess, a daughter of Sultan Ruknuddin Ibrâhîm, the son of Iltutmish, but repenting soon after, he wanted to retract the hasty words that had severed the matrimonial bonds.(1) This, however, according to the Islamic law could not be done, unless the wife had first been married to some other person after her divorce and then re-divorced by the second husband.(2) The princess, therefore, much against the wish of the prince, was married to the Sheikh Sadruddîn, on the understanding that the latter would divorce her, thus enabling her to return to the prince. But the princess refused to go back to a husband who was, as she is alleged to have said, "a cruel reprobate"(3), and entreated the Sheikh to let her remain with him. So the Sheikh refused to divorce her, and the prince, flying into a rage, thought of murdering the Qâzi(4) who had advised him to adopt the subterfuge. But then he said: "It is useless to kill one like you, but by to-morrow if I don't dye red the carpet of the Sheikh with his blood, I shall consider myself to be more powerless than the woman whom he holds back in his house." He neither ate nor drank, and ordered his troops to gather and assault the dwelling of the saint. Consternation reigned throughout the city, but before the prince could execute the plan, he

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(1) According to Firishta, the prince had pronounced the formula of divorce three times, which makes the separation absolute.

(2) Not certainly a very pleasant procedure. Its object would seem to be the discouragement of hasty divorces by infuriated husbands.

(3) Zâlim-i-fâsiq.

(4) His name is given as Amiruddin Khwarizmi, one of the attendants and companions of the prince.

heard of the Mongol invasion and started in haste, proclaiming his intentions of dire revenge against the Sheikh on his return from the campaign. But he never returned. "The treasures of Kroesus that still travel deep on the bosom of the earth - know you that they reached there by the jealous displeasure of the derwishes?"[1] says Firishta.[2]

To me the whole story seems to be as unreal as it is discreditable. No other historian mentions anything of the kind, and it is strange how Firishta, who praises the gentleness and sobriety of Prince Muhammad so greatly,[3] should here speak of him as a drunkard and a tyrant. Surely this is a slur on the fair name of one of the noblest princes of India and seems to be a concoction of the wild imaginations of zealots affected by over-piety, who think the world is governed by saints and that their slightest displeasure can upset the whole order of things. If the event actually took place, no one would justify the conduct of the Sheikh, and and it would seem monstrous that the prince should be so cruelly punished for his just resentment.

Be that as it may, however, the death of the prince was deeply mourned throughout the country. Many of his followers were killed with him, and many more taken prisoner. Among the latter was our poet, Amir Khusrau. He describes his own captivity in a few lines as bitter as they are poignant.

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(1) گنج قارون که فرو میرود از مقر هنوز — خوانده باشی که هم از غیرت درویشان است

(2) Firishta Taxt (under Sheikh Sadruddin) V. II, pp. 410-11.

(3) See supra. The story has also been narrated, following no doubt Firishta, by certain other biographers. See for instance:

(4) He mentions the incident in the 'dibacha' of Ghurrat-ul-Kamal also, where he says: "In that disastrous conflagration, the infidels' cord bound my neck too, but as God wanted to let me live longer, I escaped and fled from that path of destruction."

"Know ye how this year near Multan the right wing[1] of the believers broke before the infidel onslaught? How shall I describe that calamity from which even the Angel of Death sought to flee away? Or how shall I depict the heroic attacks of the Ghâzi[2] like the attacks of Haidar-i-Karrâr[3] on the Khaibarîs? But how can one avert the divine decrees that issue from God Himself .... The blood of the martyrs drenched the soil like water, while cords tied the faces of the prisoners like flowers in a wreath. Their heads jostled in the knots of the saddle-straps and their throats choked in the nooses of the reins. Although I escaped alive from this painful captivity, I was taken prisoner and the fear of death left no blood in my thin and feeble body. I had to run head-long like a torrent, while with long tramping a thousand blisters arose on my feet, like bubbles, and the skin of my feet was rent. Life appeared hard like the hilt of a sword on account of these hardships and the body had become dry as the wood in the handle of an axe[4] (?) with weakness. .... Like an autumn tree, the body was naked, and torn into a thousand shreds by the painful lacerations of thorny bushes. Tears dropped from my eyes as pearls fall from the necks of brides. The despicable wretch[5] who drove me in front of him sat on his horse like a leopard on a hill; a foul stench came from his mouth and filthy moustaches hung on his chin.[6] If, on account of exhaustion I slowed down my

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(1) Maimana, here used in the sense of 'yamîn' the right hand, the emblem of strength and power.

(2) One who fights for the faith, here, of course, the Prince.

(3) Haidar (= a lion) was the title of 'Alî, the 4th Caliph. Karrâr, meaning literally one who attacks repeatedly, hence formidable in attack. Ali is proverbial for his bravery. Badaoni (p. 152) has جقّار.

(4) Tugmâr or Tughmâr.

(5) Harûna or harûn, a refractory horse, here used as a term of contempt. Badaoni, p. 153, has خرونه.

(6) The original is stronger : کشاده از و هیبش نکهتی چو بوی لبل؛
فتاده بر رخش سبلتی چو موی زبار

pace, he threatened me by drawing out now his 'tighâna' and now his 'tughmâr'. I heaved sighs of disappointment and thought in my mind that I would never be able to escape alive from this affliction. But a thousand thanks to God who delivered me from it, the heart unpierced by any arrow and the body unscathed by any sword!"(1)

How, exactly, the poet managed to escape, we do not know, but probably he regained his freedom very soon after his capture(2), and perhaps by a lucky incident which he narrates elsewhere as follows:

"At the time when my wicked self (far be that hour from to-day!) fell into the hands of the Mongols, I had to tramp through a desert heaped with layers of sand, while my brain boiled like a cauldron with the intense heat. I and my capter on horse, alike thirsty, came on our way to a stream. Although I was terribly hot and thirsty. I did not pour oil on my naphtha by drinking too much water. I just moistened my lips, refreshing thereby my body so that my tormented soul found a little respite. But the thirsty rider and his still more thirsty steed both fell to drinking the pleasant water till they were satiated, and consequently both died soon after."(3)

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(1) (I.O. ms. 1187: fol. 78 seq.) These lines occur in a fine and lengthy ode which the poet calls 'Hakmul-Hikam.'

Prof. Habib (pp. 16-17) gives a translation of these verses, taking for text the reading in Badaoni which is not very satisfactory. For instance, the verse quoted on p. 91, (N. 6) is rendered - "and on his chin, there grew like a hyacinth, a tuft of pubic hair", because Badaoni (p. 153) has سنبلی for سبلتی which is absurd. The Mongols had hardly any beard and whatever they had could not very well be compared to hyacinth (Sunbul).

(2) Shibli (Shi'rul-Ajam V. II, p. 114) says the poet was taken to Balkh by his captors. This is highly improbable and is not supported by any authority. He is evidently misled by the term قبۃ الاسلام which Khusrau uses for Delhi. (تماشای قبۃ الاسلام آمدہ ...) Ahmed Said Mahrahrwi also makes the same mistake. (See Hayât-i-Khusrau, p. 21 seq.)

(3) Firishta (Text, vol. I, p. 82) also thinks that "he (Khusrau) got his freedom in the manner related in 'Khizr Khan and Duwâlrani'." (See Khizr Khan Duwalrâni, S.O.S ms. p. 43-44 for the original of the lines translated above). This shows clearly that the poet was not taken

The poet, then, returned to Multan. The whole city was in mourning. People mourned bitterly their dead prince and wept for their sons and relatives who had fallen round him. "Even the sun and the moon wept for his handsome face, and the Night and the Day mourned his brief life. As the birds and the fish had also been in peace during his reign, the air and the water were full of moanings on his death. The inhabitants of Multan on all sides, in every alley and in each quarter, wept, rending their clothes and tearing their hair. With the loud cries of mourning and the beating of the drums,(1) nobody could sleep that night, for in every house there was some dead to be wept for .... The darkness of the Hindu and the whiteness of the Turk have both disappeared, for the two are alike dressed in deep blue ... the fair ones no longer require indigo and rouge, for with slapping their cheeks are red and their eyebrows blue."(2) The stragglers, pouring into the city after the rout, added to the grief of the stricken relatives. Anxiously they watched the thin stream of survivors to recognise a beloved face and familiar features, and wept in disappointment. "If a captive returned from that bondage of affliction, they looked at his face and cried bitterly."(3) The poet himself, although he had reason to congratulate himself on his escape, was stunned and bewildered. A few hours had sufficed to lay in the dust the splendid army of the prince, to upset the

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(continued from page 84) to Balkh, but escaped soon after his captivity, probably the same day. See also Prof. Habib's "Life and Works", p. 17, n. 20.

(1) The drums were apparently beaten to keep the inhabitants prepared against a possible return of the Mongols and a night raid on the city.

(2) From the elegy quoted above.

(3) Ibid.

glories of a hundred victories and to scatter like chaff the brilliant cortège that had gathered round him in his magnificent court at Multan. Many were the dear friends whom the poet was left to mourn. "What avails," says he in his grief, "my escape from the captor's cord, when the chain of friends and sympathisers is broken into pieces? The dust of the garden is now strewn with gay colours and the tulips lend to the desert the beauties of a poplar.(1) But alas! since the storm of disaster has scattered to dust those faces that looked like roses, the spring is turned into autumn! The world is full of roses, but the assembly is void of rosy faces; pray, how can my heart not be converted into blood, like that of the rose-bud? None of the last year's friends are left this year; oh that this year were the last year! Hand me the cup so that in my grief I may quaff it and fill it again with my tears. And thou too, O cloud of spring-tide, leave aside water and weep only blood like me! Now that the years have run to three hundred and eighty-four, I have reached the age of thirty-four - but to what purpose? For even if my years be thirty thousand instead of thirty and four, they are one when the end is annihilation, and even if I be a magician(2) and not only a poet, I know that dust awaits me: I may be Kaikhusrau and not mere Khusrau, but my destination is surely the cave."(3)

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(1) Chunâr, a tree with reddish foliage, often compared to fire; a plane tree or a poplar. Zauq, the Indian poet, says: مجھنے کی دلکی آگ نہیں زیر خاک بھی : ہوگی درخت گور پہ میری چنار کا :
"The fire in my heart shall never be quenched; a chunai will grow even from my dust when I lie in my grave."
In fact the name may be a contraction of chun-nar, 'like fire.'

(2) Jâdûgar, meaning thereby a poet possessed of extraordinary power to charm men with his poetry. Khusrau often styles himself a 'sâhir' or 'jâdu' of India. For instance see Nuh Sipihr (I.O. ms. No. 1187), III. Sipihr (beg. fol.43)
"لیک چو من جادوئ این ناحیتم" الخ

(3) From the qasida Hukmul-Hikâm quoted above.

He says elsewhere, "Alas! all at once the heart is melted into blood for my friends - for that pleasant throng of friends, now dead and gone. The eyes are now used to blood-streaked tears, since the dear friends made their last struggle in blood and water .... If it be possible to raise from their dusty sleep the dead ones, I would willingly sacrifice what life remains to me to have them alive. It is a shame that my eyes can still see while the dear ones can no longer be seen: how can I see others instead of my friends? The friends are gone, whom shall I embrace now? The robes of those dead ones cannot fit everyone! Even if they strike off my head, the love of my friends I can never part with."(1)

The death of the prince, moreover, gave a rude shock to the poet's ambitions, who hoped to rise to great and glorious heights under the patronage of a king so noble and so generous as Prince Muhammad would have made, had his life been spared. Long did Khusrau cherish the memory of his beloved patron, and years after the catastrophe he would say to his friends with a sigh: "If our fortune had been kind to us, Sultan Muhammad would have been my (our) king and patron now."(2)

Khusrau now came back to Delhi, where the news of the disaster had caused bitter anguish. For months the people mourned and recited the elegies of Khusrau and Hasan. The old king, now above eighty years of age, tried to bear the blow with heroic resignation. He sat in his court and dispensed justice as usual, but his heart was broken. When he retired to his private chambers at night he could control himself no longer and wept freely. Prince Muhammad had a son, Kaikhusrau, and to this prince Balban now transferred

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(1) From the elegy (I.O. ms. 1187, fol. 132^{b}, seq. and B.M. ms. No. 25887, fol. 49 seq.).

(2) Barni, p. 68.

his royal love, and giving him the canopy and the durbash, appointed him the successor to his father at Multan and his own heir-apparent, in preference to his younger son, Bughra Khan[1] for whom he never seems to have had much affection. Khaikhusrau went to Multan and did his best to restore to the city some of its past splendour and to uphold the tradition of his father. Meanwhile Khusrau remained in Delhi, or rather Patiyali, with his mother, who was overjoyed to see her son return home safe from the terrible catastrophe and covered him with her motherly love and affection.

Balban, after this sad bereavement, had sent for Bughra Khan from Lakhnauti, and wanted to keep him beside himself, in his ailing condition and waning health. But the foolish prince, longing for the unlicensed pleasures of his court at Lakhnauti, and growing no doubt sick of rigorous control over himself under the eyes of his puritanic father, soon went back to Bengal, much against his father's wish. The old king, however, got worse soon after his departure, and feeling the end approaching, he called to his bedside Malik ul-Umara, the veteran kotwal of Delhi, and the vizier Kwaja Husain, with other nobles, and in their presence appointed Kaikhusrau heir to his crown and throne.[2]

But the Malik ul-Umara, who had had a grudge against

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(1) It would appear from Barni's account that Balban nominated Kaikhusrau his successor only after Bughra Khan had left him against his wish and had retired to Lakhnauti (See pp. 121-122 of Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi), but in one of his elegies on prince Mohd. Khusrau says: "When Kaikhusrau's forehead has been chosen for the crown, may there be a coronet of prosperity on Kaikobad's head."

مخصوص شد چو تارک کیخسروی بتاج ؛ بر فرق کیقباد زدولت کلاه باد ؛

(B.M. ms. No. 25807, fol. 51); which shows clearly that Balban had made Kaikhusrau his heir long before he died.

(2) Barni, p. 122. See, however, Note 1 supra.

Prince Muhammad,[1] did not want his son to sit on the throne of Delhi. He saw the prince safely sent away to Multan, and as soon as the aged monarch closed his eyes and his corpse, taken out from the Red Palace amid the loud lamentations of the nobles, was consigned to dust, he announced the accession to the throne of the young son of Bughra Khan, Mo'izuddîn Kaikobad.

Thus it was that in the year 685 A.H., Kaikobad, a handsome youth of eighteen, came to the coveted throne of Delhi, superseding his own father and his cousin Kaikhusrau. Accomplished, generous, good-natured, and with a refined taste for poetry and music, the young prince had passed the eighteen years of his life under a strict discipline. His grandfather had appointed over him guardians and instructors who, while they saw that he acquired all that was necessary for an accomplished prince, allowed him no liberty of action. "He could not glance at a fair face or drain a goblet of wine."[2] And then, all at once, he became the king of a rich and prosperous kingdom, the sole master of fine palaces and beautiful slaves. The result, of course, was what it usually is in the case of repressed desires finding suddenly an outlet. He gave himself up freely to his pleasures, and his nobles followed suit. "The idlers had their day now. Pleasure-hunters, rioters, joy-seekers, buffoons and fools, who had been hush'ed and had lain in ignominy idle and unemployed, found ample work now. Under the shadow of every wall appeared a peri, and from every balcony a houri displayed her charms, in every alley there arose a musician and singer,

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(1) Barni refuses to indicate the cause of this grudge, on the plea that it would involve the revelation of undesirable things.

(2) Barni, p. 128; of Firishta Text Vol. I, p. 83.

and from every quarter a bard and composer raised his head."[1]

The king soon left the city of Delhi and retired to a fine castle with beautiful gardens at Kiloghari,[2] where his court was thronged with musicians, dancers, buffoons and fools. Most of the nobles also built palaces about the royal residence and their petty courts were as gay as that of their master. "Indulgence and sin prevailed. Mosques became empty, and the wine-taverns were crowded. No one remained in the 'zâviyahs', while tall inns arose on all sides and wine became ten times as dear as it had been before."[3] The assemblies of the king were resplendent and unforgettable, and were enlivened by Ziya Jhujji and Husam Darwesh, two famous jesters of the time.

Amir Khusrau, meanwhile, had attached himself to the brilliant Malik Amir Ali Sarjândâr known as Hâtim Khan, but he was soon invited to the royal court. Amir Khusrau, however, ignored and avoided the invitation for some time. He was afraid of the machinations of the cunning minister, Malik Nizâmuddin, and had also, perhaps, some moral scruples in accepting service under Kaiḳobad who had supplanted the son of his former master.[4] Hâtim Khan, true to his reputation,

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(1) Barni, p. 129. It was during this period of gaiety and splendour that Khusrau wrote a ghazel in which he says: "Oh, Delhi and its young beauties with turbans placed roguishly awry on their heads! ... wherever they stroll the path blooms forth with moving flowers... They stroll along, while in their wake follow their lovers with bloody tears flowing from their eyes. These saucy young Hindus have made the musalmans sun-worshippers..." (Qiran-us-Sa'dain, p. 29):

ای دھلیٔ وای بتانِ سادہ ؛ نگیب لسبۃ ورلیشہ کے نہادہ ؛ الخ

(2) For Kiloghari, see infra.

(3) Barni, p. 130.

(4) The poet says himself: (Dîbâcha of Ghurratul-Kamâl)- "The king invited me, but in those days the chief man in power was Malik Nizamuddin, who, for some reason, had a grudge against me. I was afraid lest he might entangle me in some trouble and so sought safety in avoidance, and found a shelter in the shadow of the cloud-like hand of Hatim Khan."

loaded the poet with riches. "From his ocean-like hand," says Khusrau, "I received so many trays full of gold that they would have sufficed for my children and grand-children to live a life of honour and prosperity, if I had not squandered away the wealth like worthless atoms but had stored and saved it."(1)

Malik Nizamuddîn, a nephew and son-in-law of Malik-ul-Umara Fakhruddîn, the Kotwal, was a cruel and cunning conspirator, who soon insinuated himself into the favour of the king and practically ruled the kingdom. Kaikobâd was content to live peacefully amid wine and music in his New Palace, "a vast paradise, built by the river Jamna, whose white terraces rubbed their heads against the sky and whose plastered bricks shone like glass and reflected the beautiful gardens around it."(2) Nizâmuddin began his despicable career by inducing the king to send for Kaikhusrau from Multan and to have him killed. The unfortunate prince was murdered near Rohtak on his way to Delhi, and Nizâmuddin further succeeded in intimidating all his opponents by a summary and dishonourable punishment of Khwaja Khatîr, the minister, for some slight breach of discipline.

In the winter of the year the Mongols again invaded India and laid waste the whole of the country between Sâmana

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(1) Ibid:- ازان کشتی نور یا موج چند ان کشتی زر دریافتم کہ اگر آنرا بادبان مباد مشور نکشادمی

ا ع

He puns in this passage on the dual sense of the word 'Kashti', a tray and a boat or ship.

(2) Qirân-us Sa'dain, p. 42. The palace at Kiloghari built by Kaikobad.

and Lahore.[1] The news reached the king while, perhaps, he sat in his splendid court amidst gorgeous surroundings; rows of richly caparisoned horses, and elephants; an artificial garden of gold and silver, rubies, pearls and emeralds, a rich crown on his head, about his august person a cloak of pearls and gold brocade, so that pearls glittered all over his body,[2] and he was roused from his sleep. He despatched one of his generals against them,[3] and himself subsided into his wonted stupour.

The Mongols were forced to retreat, after a great slaughter, and a large number of them were taken prisoner. The victorious general returned to Delhi with the captives, and the king received him at Tilpat[4] with great honour and applause. The heads of the slain Mongols, mounted on lances, were displayed, then the spoils, consisting of Tartar horses and arms, and then the prisoners, tied in cords. Most of these last were put to death by being thrown under elephants' feet, and the rest were ordered to be taken out and paraded in the streets in disgrace.[5]

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(1) Khusrau, Ibid. ؛ از حد سامانہ تا لاھنور ؛ ہیچ عمارت نہ مگر در قصور ؛

Elliot (iii, p. 527) translates: "From the boundary of Samana as far as Lahanur (Lahore) not a house was left standing except at Kasur," misinterpreting the word here as the name of a town.

(2) A fine passage from Ibid. Note especially the verse

آب دُر از تاج و قبای و کمر ؛ تا بکمر تا بگلو تا بسر ؛

(3) Khusrau gives his name simply as Barbek. Firishta says that Malik Bârbek Birlâs (Bektars?) and Khan-i-Jahân were deputed to fight the Mongols.

(4) Or Talpat, near Delhi. The king was already on his way to Lakhnauti.

(5) Khusrau Qiran-us-Sa'dain, p. 75. See also Elliot iii p. and Prof. Habin's 'Life and Works of Khusrau', p. 48 seq. The latter interprets the verse شاہ بفرمود کہ آرند پیش ؛ گاو و قوی ہیکل و نر گاومیش

as 'the cows and the male buffaloes (i.e. Mongol women and men) etc." I, however, think the poet does not mean that. It is very improbable that the invading Mongols had any women with them and the line is quite capable of the the translation given by Elliot.

Nizamuddin now added a fresh villainy to his already black record, by obtaining from the king a mandate to put to death the Mongols who had embraced Islam and had been for some time settled in and outside the city. He convinced the king that their presence in the capital was a constant menace to the safety of the kingdom, for they were rich and powerful and had sympathies with their kinsmen, and might some day rise in revolt. Thousands of these unfortunate and innocent persons, men, women, and children, were brutally murdered or exiled, and their houses destroyed or confiscated. Even those who had any connection with them, however slight, were imprisoned and sent to out-of-the-way places far from Delhi.(1)

Bughra Khan, in his refuge at Lakhnauti, had heard of his son's accession, and had received the news, we may suppose, with a sad and wistful resignation. He was not ambitious and after all, was it not his own son, his flesh and blood, who sat on the throne of Delhi? Moreover, he remembered his father's advice to remain true to the king of Delhi, whoever he might be. But the black deeds of Nizamuddin, the reckless life of his son, and the discontent all over the country, produced some effect upon him too. Here was a chance for him to regain the throne he had lost by his folly.

So the 'Sun of the East' marched from Lakhnauti towards the capital, "like a storm with several thousand horsemen and numerous infantry", and crossed the river in large boats "like houses floating on the water."(2) Kaikobâd advanced to meet him in the middle of the month of Rabi'-ul-Awwal, with "an army more numerous than the particles in the sunlight,"(3)

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(1) See Barni, pp. 133-134; and Firishta, Vol.I,p. 85.

(2) Qirân-us-Sa'dain, p. 110 seq. Khusrau mentions the names of various kinds of boats employed, e.g. Bahr-i-rawân, Lâhira, Batwa, Laur or Lûr, etc., and gives their characteristics.

(3) Ibid, p. 68. Cf. Elliot (iii,p. 528) and Cowell's article in J.A.S.B., 1860.

and after three halts, each of which witnessed fantastic scenes of drinking and merrymaking, reached the Jumna and crossing the river came to Jeypur.[1] Bârbek, with other generals, was here deputed to go in front of the royal army. He crossed the Ganges and came to the Saru[2] where he found Bughra Khan's army encamped encamped on the other bank. The king also, with his nobles, soon arrived there and encamped opposite his father's army. Among the nobles who had accompanied the king was Hatîm Khan. Khân-i-Jahân, the patron of Khusrau, and the poet thus made his second journey to Oudh, and saw, with his own eyes,[3] the whole drama of this unnatural conflict between father and son - a conflict which, however, ended happily. In his Qirânus Sa'dain he describes at great length all the developments since the king's march from Delhi.

The two armies, then, lay facing each other, while messages, containing menaces couched in polite and affectionate terms, passed between father and son. Some of the sensible and experienced nobles in both the camps, however, succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation. Prominent among these was Shamsuddi Dabîr, who had been with Bughra Khan ever since Balban appointed the latter governor of Lakhnauti. Bughra Khan sent his son Kaikaus with rich presents across the river, and in response to this gesture of peace and good will Kaiḳobâd sent to Bughra Khan's camp his infant son, Kiâmuṯh, with embroidered cloth of Cathay and Irâq, rich silks, youthful slaves,

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(1) Elliot (iii, p. 529) has Jewar, but Cowell (in the article quoted above p. 231) reads rightly Jeypore.

(2) Elliot reads Sarju. Both names are correct. The Saru, Sara'u or Sarju, as it has been variously designated, is the river more commonly called Ghagra or Gogra, a tributary of the Ganges.

(3) It is clear from Khusrau's own account (see infra) that Khân-i-Jahân was appointed governor of Oudh when the king was returning from Lakhnauti, so that the Khan must have accompanied the king from Delhi and so also Khusrau, who was already in his service. (See Qirân-us-Sa'dain, where he says: منکہ بدم چاکر او پیش ازاں)

camels and precious stones.[1] The way was now paved for a meeting between the father and son, and on an auspicious day[2] Bughra Khan crossed the river in a splendid boat 'of sal-wood prepared in ten years' and the father and son met. Bughra Khan on beholding his son was moved to tears, and Kaiḳobâd, equally affected, got down from his throne, ran to his father, flung himself on his shoulder, and the "two thirsty rivers united - thirsty, though their eyes were flooded with tears."[3] The rejoicing was great. Thereafter several meetings took place between the two princes and their retinues passed and repassed the river to see friends and to rejoice at the fortunate close of the episode. Feasting and merrymaking went on for days. Poets composed odes, and musicians sang them. Khusrau also shared in the general happiness.

"Happy the country when two kings are reconciled, and happy the assembly where two cups are mingled in one. The son a king, the father also a sultan - behold now the glory of the kingdom, for two sultans are one! To rule and govern the world two mighty rulers have united. One is the Helper of the Time, Mahmûd Sultan, whose power extends over the four quarters[4] of the kingdom, and the other is the Glory of the World, Kaiḳobad, under whose sway Irân and Turân have become one."[5] This is how he celebrates the reconciliation. He had

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(1) Among the silks are mentioned 'Khazz,' 'Aksûn,' and 'Parniyân' Bughra Khan is said to have sent his son with aloe-wood, spices, musk, ambergris, camphor, sandal-wood, Indian swords and elephants. Qiran-us-Sa'dain, p. 100 seq.

(2) It would appear from Khusrau's letter to Najmuddin Hasan that this meeting took place on the second day of Kaikobad's arrival at the river Saru. See I'jâz-i-Khusrawi. R.V. p. 51.

روز اوّل این دو بحر زاخر بوجه توجه اگرچه آئینهٔ آب درمیان بود مواجهه نمودند؛ مرج البحرین یلتقیان بینهم برزخ لا یبغیان؛ روز دیگر قران سعدین و اجتماع نیرّین گردش دوران را ارزانی داشتند؛

(3) Qirân-us-Sa'dain, p. 113.

(4) The original has 'arkan' which means more correctly 'pillars' or principles.

(5) See Badaoni, V. I. p. and I.O. ms. No. 1187, fol 91

met there some of his old friends and the few days that the king passed beside the river Saru were spent in pleasant reunions and gatherings of literary men in the camps. Khusrau met again his dear friends Shamsuddin Dabîr and Qâzî Athîr and in a long letter to Najmuddin Hasan, the poet, he de-

and in a long letter to Najmuddin Hasan, the poet, he de

scribed another. "Happy the day one passes with his dear ones after a thousand nights and a thousand days of separation," he says in it.

Kaikobâd now bade farewell to his father who, at the conclusion of a last tender meeting, gave his son (as Balban used to give him) various pieces of advice concerning the reformation of his conduct and of the state policy, requesting him especially to do away with Nizâmuddin who had been his evil genius from the very commencement of his reign.(1)

Khusrau also returned with the royal army. The rains had now commenced, and Kaikobad proceeded slowly. At Gantpore(2) he appointed Hâtim Khan governor of the province of Oudh. "So I," writes Khusrau, "who am like a ray of that sun, could not return to my home and was obliged to stay in that country. The peerless malik, in order to obtain the mandate of governorship, girt up his loins to accompany the royal stirrup under the auspicious shadow of the canopy and turned me back.(3) In obedience to the order of that master, I had to sever myself from the company of my friends in the royal army and to travel back to the darkness of Hindustan,(4)

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(1) The only favour Bughra Khan asked for himself was that Kaikobad should give him the white umbrella and the black cap which his father (Balban) had left. (See Brit. Museum ms. No fol. 114, and Qiran-us-Sa'dain.

(2) Elliot iii, p. has Kintapur.

(3) Apparently the Malik proceeded to Delhi, sending Khusrau back to Oudh.

(4) It is interesting to note that Hindustan, as distinct from Hind which denoted the whole of India, was the appellation bestowed in those days on the eastern provinces. Even now the Punjabis call Delhi and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh by the name of Hindustan. Khusrau says

the realm of Saturn. It was the rainy season, and I had to travel during the time when the rains were heaviest .... My eyes rained tears at the parting from my friends, and the clouds wept with me in sympathy. My horse's foot stumbled in pools of water and the lightning laughed in mocking glee... The trickling drops of rain indicated my tears and the flashes of lightning the burning of my heart. In this sad plight did I at last reach Oudh."(1)

He was not happy there. He longed for Delhi and the friends he had left behind. In a long letter that he wrote to Râjuddin Zâhid from Oudh, he says: "When I parted from you as shadow deprived of light, I started on my journey, shedding tears of blood from my eyes. The heart ached and the eyes longed: the path lay in front but I looked behind. I went on, but my grief increased and my tears flowed more rapidly than my feet moved. I had no provisions except sorrow and remembered naught but yourself. Weeping I started at every stage with the royal army on the journey, till after a long march of two months when the king arrived at Oudh, he was pleased to bestow on our Khan the governorship of that province. The city of Oudh(2) was entrusted to the Khan, and a slow poison was henceforth my food. Though I had no patience I was forced to stay there. The city of Oudh is, no doubt, charming, but without you nothing seems pleasnt to me. It is a city, nay, a garden, where one can easily live happy and contented. Its ground is the ornament of the earth, and its surroundings abound in pleasure. The river Saru(3) flows by the mere sight of which quenches one's thirst. All essentials

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(contin:) in the same letter (to Shams-i-Dabîr who had been living in Lakhnauti):
دیدم کہ از عفونت ہوائی ہندوستان آن جثہ بر آب خود نماندہ۔

(1) The letter was written in Rajab 687 H. I'jâz-i-Khusrawî R V 49 seq.

(2) Here written as اودھ is often transcribed as عیوض in Persian histories. It is the old city of Ayodhya.

(3) The ms. has سرہ , evidently a mistake.

of happiness are plentiful; flowers and wine are numerous and abundant. The branches of the trees in its orchards bow down to the ground with their load of fruit. There are grapes, limes, pomegranates and oranges, and a hundred other fruits with Indian names, sweet and luscious like bananas and mangoes that refresh the brain. In the gardens there are flowers that bloom for ever, and the air resounds with the sad, sweet melodies of birds. The Mûlsarî, the Chamba, the Jai[1], crowd the gardens, and there is the Kewra like a silver spear before which the rose lays its life .... Then there are all sorts of perfumes and spices, sandal, aloe-wood, ambergris, musk, camphor and cloves, and cloths that redeem the past life, decoration of the person and ornament of the body - like Jhanbartalî and Bihârî that are like a pleasant gift of springtide and sit as lightly on the body as moonlight on the tulip or a dewdrop on the morning rose.

"The inhabitants are hospitable and courteous, good-tempered and well-mannered, faithful and generous. Rich and poor are content and happy, busy with their work, art or trade. The governor is the great malik, the victorious Khan, Ikhtiyâruddin[2] ... who is entitled Hâtim Khan, 'Ali bin Aibak. His companions receive precious gifts of pearls for an ode in his praise and to me especially he always shows fresh favours and new attentions. ... Thus, although I lack not in means of happiness and do not complain of want, the separation from you has almost brought me to the brink of the grave. ... Never do I empty a glass of wine, but refill it with my blood. Why do

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(1) Indian flowers, the last-named of which is probably what is usually called Jûi or Jûhi. For a description of these and other flowers, see Abul Fazl Âin-i-Akbari, Blochmann 1877, p. 99 seq. Mûlsarî is written in the ms as Bûlsari, and as Bhûlsari in Abul Fazl. Khusrau describes the Kewra flower at length and praises it at other places in his works also.

(2) The full name of the Khan would seem to be Ikhtiyâruddîn 'Ali bin Aibak Khân-i-Jahân, Hâtim Khan.

you see me sitting among cups of wine, amidst music and singing? Behold the wine of tears flowing from my eyes, and listen to the lament of my burning heart! Although my cup is filled with wine, without you it tastes to me like poison, for although the rose can live for a while in a flower-vase, it soon dies when away from its parent tree. (1) ..." His mother was in Delhi, and the prolonged absence of her son in her old age made her anxious for his return. "The Khan's kindness," he tells us, "rendered the strange land so pleasant that I almost forgot my own home. For two years I had no concern or anxiety about riches, but I had left my home and kin simply for the sake of my master. My mother, now an old, devout woman (2), was in Delhi and missed me very much. She passed her nights and days in restless anxiety and concern about my worthless self, and in her sorrow and grief at my separation wrote me letters asking me to return. My heart was also full of pain for her, but I tried to while away my sorrow for some time. (3) When, however, I could control my longing no more, and my yearning could no further be repressed, I put my case before my master in an application.

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(1) A fine poem in mesnevi form written in a wonderfully simple but elegant style and containing 263 verses. He says himself: "As there is no affectation in my grief, I have employed no affectation in my letter."

چون نیست تکلفی بدردم ؛ در نامه تکلفی نکردم ؛

Tâjuddin Zâhid to whom the letter is addressed was a great friend of Khusrau. He calls him مخدوم برادر گرامی

(I.O. ms. No. 1186, immediately after the conclusion of Miftâh-ul-Futûh).

(2) Subhazan, literally 'turning the beads of the rosary', a favourite occupation of old folk in the east, when they become unfit for any other work.

(3) Cf. Elliot (iii, 532 seq.) گرچه دلم ہم زغمش بود ریش ؛ چند کہی راہ ندادم بجز ایش

he translates this verse as: "Though my heart was wounded at her grief, I did not like to ask her to come to me", which is not at all a correct interpretation.

The Khan, true to his generosity, saw my helplessness, and willingly gave me his kind permission to leave for my home. He gave me also two trays of gold coins to meet the expenses of the journey, so that, full of gratitude for his magnanimity, I set out on my homeward path. Fond longing dragged me on, and tears flowed from my eyes, ... and I had no provisions with me except the anxious desire to see my mother. I traversed the way like a swift dart or like a flying arrow, making no halt for a month, for the way was long and the yearning intense, till, happy like the moon of Eid,(1) I reached the city of Delhi in the month of Zulqad. Smiling like the rose I cast my hungry eyes on the beloved faces, satisfying my desire to see my friends and gaining the object of my heart, as a bird, who has seen the rigours of autumn, comes back to a spring-tide garden, or a thirsty man reaches the Fountain of Life.

My heart that had died with sorrows, revived at the sight of my dear ones, and with a thousand humble professions of grateful love, I placed my eyes on my kind mother's feet. My mother, whom the separation from me had rendered ill, seeing me, removed the veil from the face of kindness,(2) and held me in her embrace, shedding tears of joy. Her afflicted heart was soothed, and she fulfilled the vows she had made."(3)

The poet was now again in Delhi. He had, as we have already seen, refused an offer from Malik Nizamuddin to enter the ranks of the court poets. The crafty minister was probably

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(1) Mahi-'Id, the emblem of joy and pleasure, is also used metaphorically to denote a person whom one sees only after a long time and anxious waiting.

(2) This is the literal translation. The idea is simply that she showed her kind, motherly love.

(3) A common practice among women in India, even to-day. They would vow to give a sum of money or to feed the poor, if their desire is fulfilled. Qiran-us-Sa'dain, pp. 168 seq.

still in power,[1] and the young king, who had relapsed into his old habits soon after his return from Lakhnauti, let him still rule as he pleased. Kaikabâd bade farewell to his father with promises, perhaps sincere, to reform his conduct, but he was helpless before the temptations with which his designing minister managed to surround him. The news of His fondness for dancers and musicians, jesters and buffoons, had reached the remotest parts of the country, and hosts of fair and gorgeously-decked dancing girls and boys intercepted his advance at every stage of his journey back to Delhi, displaying their charms and skill to lure the repentant king back to the paths of folly. The king tried to resist the temptation, but he failed, and falling a prey to the 'killing' eyes of beautiful dancers and the sparkle of the ruby wine, he sank lower and lower into the depths of licentious debauchery.[2]

He had, however, an affectionate nature, and still kept a fond memory of his father in his heart, and so, soon after Khusrau's return to Delhi, he sent for him, asking him to compose a poem commemorative of his meeting with his father on the banks of the Saru. Khusrau himself narrates this event as follows:

"Two days after my arrival in Delhi the news reached the king, and his chamberlain called on me, giving me the glad tidings of the king's desire to see me. I at once rose up and made the requisite preparations, and composed a fresh panegyric.[3] Then I went and laid my cheek on the dust before the king, the body bent in homage and the heart full of awe.

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(1) According to Firishta, Kaikobad had him poisoned just before his own death. See also Barni, p. 170.

(2) See Firishta Vol. I, p. 87, and Barni pp. 156-160.

(3) He had already composed several odes in praise of the young king.

I opened out the poem and recited it in a loud voice, and when the king heard my fine verses, he diverted his affections from his other companions, gave me two bags of gold coins, and ordered a special allowance for me. I was selected to take an honourable position among his most favoured boon companions. When the king had thus rendered me happy with his generosity and had converted my poverty into affluence, he spoke thus: '0 Last[1] of the Poets, the remnants of whose table serve as food for others, we have a favour to ask from you. If you, with the help of your bright imagination, can satisfy my request, I shall give you as much gold as you ask for, so that you shall never feel the pain of want.' When the king's munificence imparted this welcome news to me, I hastened to his presence, swift as wind, with due homage, and said: '0 Jem-like king, the equal of whom the throne[2] has never beheld even in dreams, who am I, a grateful slave of yours, that one like you should ask anything of me? It is you who give to every beggar what he wants. What could you require from one like me? The garden does not seek colour and perfume from the rose, and the cloud does not borrow water from a drop. Even if the king, whose sway holds all the world in bondage, asks me my life, it is already his. Whatever I reap from my twisted mind and dull, weak thought, is only bad Persian(poetry). If your Majesty's desire can be fulfilled with that, I shall count myself fortunate to do so.' When I thus tendered before the king the excuse of my incompetence, the king replied thus: 'What I desire from you 0 wizard, is that, heedless of hardships, for my sake, you give a soul to the lifeless body of poetry by describing the meeting of the

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(1) Khatm, the end, the seal, just as Khatm-ur-rusul or Khatimul-Mursalîn is the title of the Prophet. The sense is 'the most perfect.'

(2) The reading of the text is bakht (fortune), but I think that takht gives better sense.

two sultans - that you should compose, with the magic of your tongue, the story of my encounter with my kind father, so that if the sorrow of parting overwhelms me, the perusal of that story may calm my heart.' Saying this, the king made a sign with his eye to the Treasurer. The treasurer hurried me out of the royal presence and gave me a golden seal (?)[1] and a royal robe. Strange that I should be chosen for such an honour - that my profit be so heavy while I have no commodity in my hand! My pen is innocent of all skill and my paper is devoid of any rich gloss."[2]

Nevertheless, Khusrau undertook the task and did it with an energy, attention and labour that have made some historians wonder. Why, they ask, should Khusrau have wasted his energy and devotion, and demeaned his art, in the composition of a long and fine poem for the sake of a monarch like Kaiḳobâd, a rake and a drunkard?[3] But we must remember that Kaiḳobâd, in spite of his faults, was a very lovable man. He was extremely handsome, witty and good-natured, generous and kind, and very appreciative of merit. Khusrau's odes on his accession show a marked feeling of admiration for the unfortunate youth who, on account of circumstances not entirely in his own control, fell a victim to his passions and took to courses that soon led him to his untimely grave. He was, moreover, of very noble birth. His grandfather, Balban, was the son of a daughter of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish, and he himself was born of a daughter of Nâsiruddin Mahmûd, the son of Iltutmish, so that both his grandfathers were kings.[4]

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(1) The text has muhr-i-zar.

(2) Muhra is a burnisher used for imparting a gloss and smoothness to paper. It was indispensable in old days when calligraphy was an art and the paper was not very smooth. ؛ نی قلم را ز مہرہ بہرہ ؛ نی ورقم را ز گہر مہرہ ؛

(3) See for instance Abul Fazl: Âin-i-Akbarî (Text)I. 534

(4) Khusrau says of him (Qirân-us-Sa'dain, pp. 17-18):-
بخت بہ پشت از دو طرف تا جدار ؛ ہر طرف از ہر دو طرف شہریار ؛ شمس جہانگیر چو بافرشش ؛ اظہر من شمس چو دیگر شش
ناصر حق شاہ فرشتہ سرشت ؛ خوئی خوشش لعبتِ باغ بہشت ؛ چو سوم شاہ عیاث امم ؛ حاکم فرخان زعرب تا عجم ؛

Lastly, he was very generous and was the first king who took Khusrau into his service, and Khusrau, after all was not insensible to the great lure of gold and a gilded rank.

"I returned," he says, "to my humble abode from the royal palace with shame and confusion. My neck bent under the load of pearls, and it was now my duty to serve the king. With the tablet of my heart in my hand, I retired to a corner, my wits confused and my thoughts scattered. I hid myself from my fellow beings - nay, from both men and genii. Soon the stream of ideas arose from my heart and the pen became smoky with the fire of my mind.(1) As I had placed my trust in God while busy in thought, my dusty, sordid mind produced a treasure."

The treasure was, of course, the well-known mesnevi Qirân-us-Sa'dain which, the poet, according to his own version, completed in Ramadân, 688 H., after the ceaseless labour of six months.(2) This was his first long poem, and in some respects perhaps, unique, not only among the poet's own work but in the whole range of Persian poetry.(3)

The poet, who was now thirty-six years old, became henceforth the poet-laureate of Kaikobâd, but the profligate monarch was already sinking fast. He had ruined his health by his excesses, and as if in a foolish attempt to retrieve what he had lost by getting rid of the man who was to a great extent responsible for this miserable condition, he had Malik Nizâmuddin poisoned, and invited Malik Jelaluddin bin Firoz Yaghrish Khilji from his provincial seat at Sâmana to take up the duties of 'Âridi-Mamâlik.(4) The king's indisposition, however,

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(1) The reed pen is most often smoked to give it a rich dark colour, and frequently patterns are formed by covering portions of it with thread while it is being smoked.

(2) Qirân-us-Sa'dain, p. 174. (3) See infra.

(4) He was already the governer of Samana and Sarjândâr, and now received the title of Shâsti Khan. In Barni (p. 170) this title is distorted into Siyâsat Khan. That Shasti Khan is the correct version is clear from several odes of Khusrau. Thus, see the odes in Ghurrat-ul-Kamal (I.O. ms. 1186) beg. as بوستان بگلفت و روی لاله خندان گشت بار
Badaoni (i, 166) gives the name as شایسته خان

assumed a dangerous form and developed into palsy and paralysis, that confined him to his bed. Meanwhile the nobles were already busy conspiring. His little son, Kiâmurth was proclaimed king by the Turks, but the Khilj party under Jelaluddin were opposed to the Turkish party,(1) and the rivalry led to bloodhsed. The Turks were overpowered and scattered, and Jelâluddin became the head of the kingdom as the guardian of the infant king. He soon got rid of Kaiḳobâd, who was mercilessly murdered ny a Turk who had some grudge against him, while he lay on his bed a helpless and hopeless wreck, the mere ghost of his former handsome self. It was also not long before Kiâmurth was set aside, and Jelaluddin assumed the title of Sultan, exchanging his white umbrella for a black one(2) that had been the royal prerogative of his masters, and thus putting an end to the dynasty founded by the slaves of the Ghori Sultans. He was proclaimed king in the new palace of his unfortunate master, which had witnessed the gay assemblies of Kaiḳobâd and finally his tragic death after a brief reign of a little more than three years. The only other claimant to the throne, ʿAlâuddin Mohammad Kishlû Khan, the nephew of Balban, was put out of the way, being appointed governor of Karra.

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(1) The leaders of this party were Malik Itmar Kachchan (or Kachan) Bârbek and Malik Itmar Surkha. See Firishta, I, pp. 87-88, and Barni, pp. 171-172.

(2) Khushrau briefly alludes to these events in his Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl (Dîbâcha) as follows: "His beloved son Shamsuddin (Kiâmurth) was proclaimed king and Shâsti Khan .... took him under his care and tutelage. I became the Utarid (secretary) of that auspicious (firozi) sky and his companion. By my good fortune the azure standard of Firoz Shah was changed into the Black Umbrella and by the grace of the Almighty he honoured the throne with his glorious feet."

Chapter III.

Khusrau's Career under the Khaljîs and Ghiyâthuddin Tughlaq till his Death in 725 A.H.

In 689,[1] then the aged general Firoz Khalji,[2] was crowned king. He was a brave and able man and, like Balban, had passed most of his life in fighting against the Mongols, who as Khusrau says came to India again and again only to be despatched back to 'Kirman' in ignominy. Modest and diffident, he was almost pushed on to the throne by his sons, one of whom especially was as ambitious and strong in character as his father was retiring and shy.[3] The Turkish nobles looked askance at the new monarch and even the inhabitants of Delhi showed openly their contempt for the Khaljis, and so the king remained at Kiloghari dreading a visit to the capital. But his virtuous nature and good temper soon won all hearts, and the refractory and insolent Turks, one by one, visited the king and paid their homage to their new sovereign.

Jalâluddin finished and enlarged the New Palace built by Kaiḳobâd, and soon a city sprung up around the royal residence which acquired the name of the 'New City'.

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(1) Khusrau gives the date (Miftâh-ul-futûh) as the 3rd of Jumâd-al-Thâni 689, according to Firishta it was the beginning of the year 688 (V.I. p.89); Barni also has 688, but 689 is the correct date (Barni 175): Khusrau says: جلوس دویمین را پنجم روز چهارم ساعت از روز عالم افروز؛ بگاه چاشت بافیروزی فال؛ از نخجوت ستمگر و هفتاد و دو سال The king was 70 years of age at the time of his accession to the throne.

(2) The name has been derived from Khalij or Qalij Khan, son-in-law of Chengiz Khan by some historians and from Khalij or Khilij, a son of Turk bin Yâfath bin Nuh. See Firishta (1.88) and Badaoni (1.167).

(3) Arkalik Khan, his second son. See infra

He also built a strong fortress in the New City,(1) and having consolidated his position and established his sway, he at last paid a visit to Delhi. There he went to the Red Palace of Balban, but as he reached the outer portico he got down from his horse. Ahmed Chap, his proud and ambitious counsel, remonstrated. "The palace is your Majesty's now," he said. But the king silenced him. "It is my master's," he replied. "Do you think I have forgotten what I am? For years I have bowed my head before Balban in this castle and even now as I entered my heart throbbed with awe and I thought I could see the mighty king sitting on his throne." He did not sit on the throne of his master, but retired to another part of the palace and held his court there.

Khusrau, as a court poet, had passed automatically into Jalaluddin's service even when the latter was only a regent.(2) He was henceforth a part of the royal paraphernalia that changed hands at the death of each successive monarch and like the black canopy, the crown and throne, the palaces, the slaves and elephants became the property of the new master. But for the pious old monarch Khusrau had a genuine devotion and love, and the king on his part treated the poet with great honour and benevolence. He was a poet himself and could compose elegant quatrains or

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(1) Krusrau praises this fortress in one of his odes and says: (Ghurrat-ul-kamâl:) شهادر شهر نو کردی حصاری ؛ که رفت از کنگر او تا قمر سنگ ؛

(2) He says that himself in the Dîbâcha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl. (See supra) Some of his odes (e.g. Nos. 1 and 2 in the I.O. MS. 1186: Ghurrat-ul-kamal) in praise of Jalâluddin relate to the latter's period of regency. The first ode on his accession to the throne (No. 3 in Ibid) begins: منت ایزدرا که نو شد کار و بار مملکت ؛ دولت سلطان عالم شد مدار مملکت
(Cf. B.M. MS. Kulliyat, No. 25,087; fol. 385b, fol. 386b and fol. 387 for the three odes.)

ghazels[1] and was a great admirer of Khusrau's poetry on whom he bestowed the rank of 'mushafdâr' and the special robe of 'amârat', admitting him into the circle of his boon companions. He also allotted to the poet a pittance of 1200 tangahs annually.[2]

Jalaluddin was over seventy when he became king and all his life had passed in wars and campaigns, yet he had a young heart and a cheerful disposition. His wine-parties were gorgeous. Beautiful slaves handed round the 'forbidden ruby' and famous singers recited the ghazels of Khusrau and Hasan. "Each night," says Barni, "Amir Khusrau brought new ghazels to the assembly of the king."[3] Mohd. Shah, the famous musician of the time, played and beautiful dancing girls like Fatûha and Nusrat Khâtûn sang "bringing the birds down from the air and robbing the hearers of their senses", while the graceful dancing of Nusrat Bibi and Mihr Afroz, their coquettish gestures and charming motions "spilt a salt-mine on every side".[4] "While the sakis offered the frothing cups and the beautiful damsels danced and sang, the ghazels of Amir Khusrau were recited, and in that assembly which could scarcely be considered among those of this earth the lifeless ones got a fresh life and the sad hearts

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(1) See, for instance, Badaoni (i, 182) who gives the following verses composed by him:

آن زلف پریشان ترا دیده همی خواهم ؛ وآن روی چو گلنارت خندیده همی خواهم
جان بانگ بلند است این با لوشیده همی خواهم ؛ جانی به رهت دارم کایثار تو را نیز

Cf. also Barni p. 197 and Firishta i, p. 89. Among the poets of his court, beside Khusrau and Hasan, were Tâjuddin 'Irâqi, Muayyad Jâjurmi, Muayyad Dîwâna, Amir Arsalân Kâlâmi, Ikhtiyâruddin Baghi (Barni 199 = Bagh) and Tajuddin Khatib.

(2) See Barni, p. 197.

(3) Ibid p. 200.

(4) To spill salt, a salt-cellar or a salt-mine, means to scatter charm, to spread round guiles and attractions, 'namak' (salt) being metaphorically used for beauty and charm. (Barni p. 199).

gladdened."(1) One can well appreciate the splendour and magnificence of these parties by the sad, longing lament of Barni who, as a young man, was often present in them. "I, the old sinner," he says, "wandering in the desert of disappointment and reduced to almost a breath of air or a whiff of smoke, wish, when writing the description of these assemblies, to wear the zone and put the Brahmins' 'tîka'(2) on my accursed forehead in memory of those handsome youths and beautiful maidens whose singing and dancing I had so often seen. Yes, I wish I could blacken my face and mourning for those kings of beauty's realm and those suns of the sky of grace, betake myself to streets and alleys a target to derision and disgrace, and sixty years after their disappearance go out lamenting, rending my clothes and tearing the hair of my head and beard, and lay my life beside their graves."(3)

While, however, the king's kind heart and genial temper delighted all, his excessive lenience and forbearance made the mischievous truculent. "He is all right," they said, "for fighting the Mongols, but as to ruling an empire - well it is beyond him." In the wine-parties of some of these bragging malcontents there were wild talks about the king and his inefficiency. The king heard all, but ignored it, and even when some of the nobles conspired to kill him he called them to his presence, threw his sword before them and challenged any one of them to raise his hand and strike if he durst. The conspirators were shamed and humbled and

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(1) Ibid p. 200. For dancing Barni uses the terms پاکوفتن and اشکنه کردن Ishkinah is a musical note and therefore more correctly means to sing.

(2) Tîka, the caste-mark or 'tilak' of the Brahmins would, of course, mean rank heresy for a devout Musalman.

(3) Barni p. 200.

blabbered out excuses. The king forgave them all to the great scandal and indignation of his ministers.(1)

The two great events of his reign were the revolt at Karra of Malik Jhujhu, ʿAlâuddin Mohd. Kishlîkhan, and the conquest of Jhain, a fortress near Rantambhur, and Khusrau in his 'Miftâh-ul-Futûh' describes both of them. Malik Kishlî Khan, as we have seen, was the nephew of Balban and considered himself to be the rightful heir to the throne. He was, moreover, incited by other Turkish nobles to take advantage of the king's gentle and peaceful nature, and to raise the standard of revolt. In the second year of Fîroz's reign the malik declared his independence and assuming the title of Mughîthuddîn(2) and collecting a large army mainly from amongst the Hindus(3) of his province advanced towards Delhi. The king, hearing of this, sent his brave and fiery son Arklik(4) Khan with a strong detachment to meet the enemy and himself followed close with the main army. Khusrau was with the king and witnessed the various developments of the campaigns.

Arklik Khan advanced quickly and crossing the Jumna and the Ganges reached the Rahab(5) where the enemy was encamped.

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(1) For this incident see Barni pp. 190-191. The conspiracy was formed in a wine-party in the house of Tajuddin Kuchi, a great malik who was proposed to be the next king, and among the conspirators was another great malik, Nuṣrat Sabâh, Sardawâtdâr (or Chief Secretary).

(2) It is curious that Tughril, who rebelled in Oudh in Balban's time, had also assumed the same title.

(3) Khusrau says of his army: "A few black infidels from Hindustan, who had sworn allegiance to him."
ز هندوستان سیاهی چند بیدین بپرهنا داوند فرمانش را به تمکین
Elliot (iii. 536) translates "and a few 'sipâhîs' from Hindustan..." apparently misreading sipâhî for siyâhi. (Miftâhul-futûh I.O. MS. 1186).

(4) Sic in Khusrau. But in Barni and Firishta the name is given as Arkali Khan. He was the second of the King's three sons.

(5) The modern Ramganga.

The two armies lay face to face for some days on opposite banks of the river and skirmishes went on. One night, however, the malik fled. The prince following soon overtook him and forced him to fight, cutting off his retreat. The demoralised and feeble soldiers of the malik were easily defeated and he escaped with a few followers, but was hunted down and brought with his confederates bound in pillories,(1) their clothes torn and dusty and their faces begrimed, seated on camels. The monarch, when he saw this, covered his face with the lapel of his robe and cried out: "Fie, what is this! Remove at once the pillories." They were taken off the camels to the bath, were supplied fresh clothes, and the king sat with them, drinking wine and asking them to drink it with him. They cast down their eyes in shame.(2) Malik Jhujhu was sent to Multan with great honour and all the other nobles, except Alap Ghâzî,(3) were pardoned.

The king then returned through Lakhnauti clearing the forest of Tarshîna(4) and destroying the robbers who had made it their stronghold. At Anbithi he subjugated the Raja Nûpâl(5) and proceeded on to Kahsûn(6) and Balâghatrak, whence he ultimately reached Siri. The king stayed there

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(1) Dushâkha, a piece of wood split into two parts between which were wedged the necks of culprits.

(2) See Barni p. 183. Barni narrates the event from Amir Khusrau, who stood by the king at the time the prisoners were brought in.

(3) He was delivered over to the relatives of someone whom he had murdered.

(4) Elliot iii 'has Taraya'.

(5) Elliot: Rûpâl.

(6) Elliot: Kashûn.

for the whole month of Safar resting and enjoying, and preparing for the next expedition to Jhain. "Although wine was taboo during the journey," says Khusrau, "the king was not without the pleasures of music. Sometimes he listened to the verses of his companions, and sometimes sought new and fresh melodies from the musicians. On one side this humble slave sung the praises of the generous and on the other the skilful Mohd. Shah(1) intoxicated the senses with his musical performances."(2)

After a magnificent durbar in which rich robes were conferred on all and sundry and red canopies with gold 'dûrbâshes' on Khan Khanan and Arkalik Khan, the elder sons of the king and a gorgeous pearl-studded robe and a sapphire coloured standard on Ruknuddin Ibrâhîm Qadar Khan, the youngest son, the king hoisted his flag from Siri. Marching through Lahrâwat,(3) Chandâwal, Rîwarî, Narnol(4) and Banûhan,(5) the king at last reached Jhain. Sâhinîn,(6) the raja's brave general, met the royal forces, but after a hard struggle he fell dead and the fortress was captured, the raja taking flight. The king occupied the palace and gardens of the raja, "beautiful as paradise"(7) and cleared

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(1) The famous musician of Jalâluddin's time. In Barni the name is given as Muhammad Sanah (سنہ), evidently a misprint (Barni p. 199). He was a 'changi' or player of 'chang' (the lute).

(2) Miftâh-ul-Futûh (I.O. MS. 1186).

(3) The MS. has Lahrâfat. Elliot (iii. 540) changes it into Sohrait.

(4) The MS. has Narnaur.

(5) Sic in MS. Elliot iii. 540 has Beohan.

(6) The name as given in the MS. is Sâhinîn or Sâhinî, but Elliot iii. 541 gives it as Saini.

(7) Khusrau gives a long and fine description of the palace. The passage has been translated by Elliot (q.v. iii. p. 541). In an ode in the Ghurra I.O. MS. 1186, the poet alludes to this campaign:

جلال الدین و الدنیا کہ عزمش جانب جھاین ؛ زبھر قلعہ کفر از پی اینبیاد دین آمد

the temples of all idols. The fort was destroyed and heaps of plunder fell to the lot of the conquerors including two brass images of Brahma. Appointing two of his generals, Malik Khurram and Sarjândar Mahmûd to pursue the raja and plunder the country around, the king proceeded to the river Chambal, and by slow marches passed through Bayâna and Sîrî and finally entered Delhi, where he was accorded a fine reception by his subjects.(1)

The king's gentle nature did not permit him to shed the blood of his subjects in further conquests and he gave up the idea of reducing the strong fortress of Rantambhur.(2) All his ministers argued with him in vain. Even Khusrau in his odes tried to urge the king to be more energetic. "O you that have raised high your standard," he says, "you shall conquer the whole world and in one stroke capture the seven realms.....Wield your sword, O King, for with the sword you will get what you like from the world as soon as you desire it.....Your slave, Khusrau, prays that you may conquer Hindustan as you have conquered Khorasan."(3) But the king was unmoved. He loathed bloodshed and disliked cruelty. He could not be severe to anyone and released even the 'thugs' who were brought before him(4) and used to threaten his refractory nobles, not of his own anger,(5) but of the wrath of his second son, Arkalik Khan. "You know how hot-tempered he is. Beware lest he hear of what you say about me!"

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(1) Miftâhul-futûh (I.O. MS. 1186). See also Khusrau's ode, No. 35, fol. 104b. Wast-ul-Hayât (I.O. MS. 1187) in which he describes the journey from Sîrî in the heat of summer. The ode, which he names مروحة الروح was written in 690.

(2) See Barni p. 213.

(3) Ghurratul-Kamâl (I.O. MS. 1186) beg: ای علم بالا زده ملک جهان خواهی گرفت

(4) See Barni p. 189.

(5) Ibid p. 193.

He had to suffer in his old age the loss of his eldest son, Khan-i-Khanan, whom he had appointed his heir and successor, and Khusrau has commemorated the event by a fine elegy.(1) The death of the prince was considered by some of the superstitious people to be a punishment for the murder of a darwesh, Sidi Mulah, who, as the central figure in a conspiracy against the king, was brutally done to death by other rival darwishes in the presence of the king. This was, perhaps, the only deed of stern judgment on the part of Jalaluddin, and he was instigated to it by his son Arkalik Khan who supervised the murder from a balcony and asked an elephant-driver to finish Mulah as he fell down wounded by trampling him under his elephant's feet.(2)

The invasion of the Mongols under Alghu Khan in 692 H. was another event of importance during his reign. The Mongols were defeated and Alghu Khan, with four thousand of his followers embraced Islam. He was married to a daughter of the king and the converts settled down in Ghiaspur.

The old and pious monarch's reign, however, was now drawing to a close. He was too good, too gentle and too unsophisticated to be allowed to occupy the throne for long. In the year 691,(3) when he returned to the capital after an ineffectual expedition against the strong fortress of

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(1) I.O. MS. 1186: Ghurrat-ul-Kamal (Tarjiband No. 5): He says in it:

چه روز است این که من خورشید تابان را همی بینم ؛ دگر شب شد چرا ماه و رخشان را همی بینم ؛
شه آنگه بر سر تخت و بزرگان صف زده بر سوق ؛ همه هستند لیکن خان خانان را همی بینم ؛

(2) For details of this incident see Firishta, i.pp. 92-93; Barni pp. 208-212; Badaoni i. p. 170 seq.; etc.

(3) Firishta (V.I. p. 94) gives the date as 692 H. and that of Alauddin's expedition against Deogir as 693 H. According to Barni, however, the date is 691 H.

Mandawar,[1] his nephew and son-in-law, Alauddin Khalji, the governor of Karra, laid before him the plunders of a raid on the country round about Bhilsa[2] and sought his permission for further expeditions against Chanderi. The king, immensely pleased by his nephew's exploits, readily granted him leave to start. Alauddin, however, wanted to go away from Delhi, not only in the hope of rich plunders, but more, perhaps, in order to get rid of his proud wife and her prouder mother, Malika-i-Jahan, who had always been a source of mental torment to him, but against whom he could scarcely utter a word for fear of incurring the king's displeasure. He was, moreover, already hatching a plot to make a bid for the throne, and was in league with the discontented nobles who had taken an active part in the revolt in Oudh of Malik Jhujhu. Taking a number of such chiefs in his service and recruiting fresh soldiers, Alauddin returned to Karra and soon started from there with the ostensible intention of raiding Chanderi[3] with a few thousand trusty soldiers. His objective was, however, quite different. The lands of Berar and Deccan had so far been immune from the tread of the Turkish soldiers. Their peaceful cities were stored with riches and wealth that had accumulated for centuries. There was gold and silver untold in the coffers of the rajas, and diamonds and pearls, horses and elephants in incredible numbers. The fame of these treasures had reached the ear of the ambitious malik.

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(1) Mandu in Firishta (V.I. p. 94). Amir Khusrau also in his poems and Tarikh-i-Alai styles it Mandu. See also Abulfazl (Ain. I. 382). But Barni has Mandawar.

(2) Thasa in Firishta (ibid). Barni has Bhilsa, which is correct. See Ain-i-Akbari (I. 381), where it is mentioned in the sircar of Raisin, province of Malwa.

(3) Abulfazl (Ain-i-Akbari) V.I. p. 381, mentions it in the province of Malwa. With Raisin, it formed a sircar.

He wanted money to make his plan a success and here was a mine of riches awaiting exploitation.

He marched with his army so swiftly and so secretly that no one had an inkling of his plans and all at once appeared before the walls of Deogir,(1) through Elichpur.(2) The raja was taken by surprise, and although his son fought valiantly against the invaders, ʿAlâuddin succeeded in completely cutting off Deogir from the surrounding country and rendering all succour or supply of provisions impossible, thus compelling the raja to agree to the terms he dictated to him. These included the payment of a ransom to the invaders consisting of six hundred mans(3) of gold, seven mans of pearls, two mans of diamonds, emeralds and rubies, a thousand mans of silver, countless bundles of silk cloth and other precious products of Deccan, together with the revenue of Elichpur and its dependencies, elephants and horses.(4) Loaded with these rich spoils, Alauddin returned to Karra and the news of his successes reached his unsuspecting uncle, Jalâluddin while the latter was at Gwaliyar.(5) ʿAlâuddin's conduct had roused the suspicions of some of the wise counsellors of the king. The faithful minister, Ahmed Chap, especially saw the menace that lay in the possession of so much wealth by ʿAlâuddin and

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(1)

(2)

(3) Not the present Indian maund of forty seers or 80 lbs., but the old man which was equal to 8 lbs.

(4) For these details see Firishta (I. 96) and Barni 222 seq.

(5) Khusrau was probably with the king here, for in an ode he says: "When the king's cavalcade reached Gwaliyur the waves of his sea-like reached Ceylon itself."
چو موکبش بزمین گوالیور آمد ؛ ز موج لشکر اوسیل تا بہ سیلان شد ؛
(Ghurrat-ul-kamâl. I.O. MS. 1186). The king as would appear from the ode, built a fine terrace (چوترہ) at Gwaliyar. Cf. Badaoni I. 182.

he advised the king to advance and intercept ʿAlâuddin's return to Karra and thus compel him to surrender the treasures to his master. The king, however, in his affection and enthusiasm for his nephew, disregarded the advice and returned to Delhi, thus allowing ʿAlâuddin to proceed to his safe retreat in Karra and Oudh with resources that, in the words of Ahmed Chap, were sufficient for the foundation of seven kingdoms.(1)

From Karra, ʿAlâuddin commenced a campaign of crafty correspondence, telling the king of his successes, expressing his fears of the royal displeasure at his unauthorised conduct and asking the king's forgiveness. His brother, Almâs Beg, another son-in-law of the king, was his spy and confederate at the royal court and told the king all sorts of sentimental things about his brother - how he was burning to see his beloved uncle, but durst not come to Delhi for fear, how he always carried poison in his handkerchief to end his life at the slightest manifestation of the king's wrath, and how faithful and true and repentant he was. The king, in his innocence and simplicity, sent Almâs Beg to Karra, telling him to console his brother and assure him of immunity. The two brothers now together succeeded in drawing the king into a trap laid cleverly and with cruel precision and calculation. He was persuaded to visit Karra to receive the homage of his nephew and the treasures he had brought from Deogir. The fatherly affection of the old monarch, his childish simplicity and his cupidity for gold, led him blindfolded to his fate. Leaving behind his army and crossing the river with a few followers, fasting and

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(1) A curious reflection on the importance of riches in those days, which would explain ʿAlâuddin's policy towards his nobles.

reciting the Koran, he reached the other bank where his nephew had encamped with his army ready for all eventualities, the soldiers and elephants armed and at attention. As he got down from the boat, ʿAlâuddin advanced and threw himself at his feet and the king lifted him up and embraced him with words of affection, dragging him towards the boat to take him back to the royal camp. But, under ʿAlâuddin's instructions, he was attacked by a ruffian,(1) who wounded him, and as the king ran towards the river another ruffian,(2) pursuing, threw him down and cut his head. The gory head with its white beard was hoisted on a lance and paraded in Karra. Ahmed Chap, hearing of the disaster, hastened back to Delhi. He had done his best to prevent it, but the king never listened to him. Arkalik Khan, the valiant and able son of the murdered king, was in Multan. His mother, Malika-i-Jahân, without waiting for his arrival to Delhi, announced her youngest son, Ibrâhîm Ruknuddîn's accession to the throne, and Arkalik Khan, offended at this slight, remained at Multan. The only formidable rival being thus put out of his way, ʿAlâuddin had no difficulty in scattering the forces of the young prince Ibrâhîm,(3) whose army deserted him and who, with his mother and the faithful minister, Ahmed Chap, was forced to take shelter with his elder brother in Multan. ʿAlâuddin thus

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(1) He is said to be one Mahmûd son of Sâlim, a base-born man of Samana. (See Firishta I. 99, and Barni 234).

(2) Ikhtiyâruddîn, one of the ungrateful creatures of the king. (Firishta I. 99).

(3) Khusrau has praised him in several fine odes and he seems to have been an amiable and generous prince. (See odes in Ghurra, I.O. MS., beg: called ratbul-gulub (9) and

بازبوئی گل بمغز بلبلان در میروم
عید اگر چون رخ فرخندهٔ جانان باشد ؛ خاه من صورت میمون توعیدی دگر است
ابر بارید و بهم روئی زمین را تر کرد

He refers to his defeat and flight in the ʿAshiqa p. 67 (S.O.S. MS.) thus:

ملوک وخان و اندازه برون بود ؛ که هریک تخت ترکی را ستون بود ؛ ز بانگ زرکه در رقص آورد پای
برقص آمد ستونها جمله ازجا ؛ الخ

entered the city of Delhi unopposed. He had started from Karra, scattering gold and silver on his way, and winning all hearts with his generosity. As he advanced towards Delhi, his camp was preceded by a catapult that flung stars of gold on the large crowds that gathered from far and near to watch the triumphal march after the wonderful coup d'etat. 'Alâuddin sought to wash away with gold the blackness of his vile treachery, and such is human nature that men soon forgot the gentle and virtuous king whose old head on the spear-head still cried for vengeance, and welcomed the new monarch with great enthusiasm, and our poet, Khusrau, was one of the first to offer his congratulations to the murderer whose hands were still red with the blood of his king, his uncle and his benefactor, who had brought him up like his own child from his infancy, and had always been nothing but kind to him. The poet, like so many others, changed with the changing time and turned with the shifting wind. In a long ode that he had composed in honour of Firoz Khalajî, he had said: "If the great master, Khâqânî boasted of the glories of Sherwân, I proclaim the splendours of India. His king, Jalâluddin,(1) the king of Sherwan, and the majesty and gold crown of that king are alike dust now. But may our Jalâluddin remain for ever at the head of our glorious kingdom and may his generous deeds pass into history through our praises of them."(2) Yet no sooner did his nephew,

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(1) Jalâluddin Akhtisân Shirwânshah, the patron of Khâqânî, was the son of Minûchihr Shirwânshah. Nizâmî also dedicated his Leyla and Majnun to this king.

(2) Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl (I.O. MS. 1186) ode beg: عیدست وخوبان خوشنب درکوی نگار آمده
The ode is in imitation of one of Khâqânis beg: as عید است پیش از صبحدم مژده بجان آمده
(See Kulliyât-i-Khâqâni-Lucknow 1908: p. 402)
Qaani has an ode very similar to this but with a different radif or rhyme: عیداست وساقی در قدح صهبا زمینا ریخته
and one with identical metre and rhyme: عیداست وجام زرنشان ازمی گرانبار آمده (Ibid p. 274).
(See Kulliyât of Qaâni Selections: Calcutta 1907, p.276)

shaded by the royal umbrella wrenched from the hands of the murdered king's attendants, approach the capital than Khusrau wrote and presented to him a panegyric congratulating him on his success and promising him the throne and Khutba of Delhi:- "May you be blessed with the glory of the Khutba of Delhi: This happy augury I draw from the nine lots of the skies,"(1) is how the poet greets ʿAlâuddin.

ʿAlâuddin ascended the throne of Delhi on Tuesday, the 22nd of Dhulhijja, 695 H.(2) He gave the title of Ulugh Khan to his brother, Almâs Beg, and that of Alp Khan to his brother-in-law, Sanjar. Two other great supporters of his cause were Malik Nusrat and Malik Badruddîn(3) and they were honoured with the titles of Nusrat Khan and Zafar Khan respectively. ʿAlâuddin's daring expedition to Deogir, and his more daring and dramatic coup-de-main that had secured him the crown, had almost dazzled and bewildered the people. He had advanced to the throne, as Khusrau says, "with sword in one hand and gold in the other, crowning heads with the latter and severing them with the former."(4) "All at once, he ascended the throne in Delhi, while all the world wondered at the strange occurrence. 'How could anyone,' they asked, 'seize Delhi coming from Karrah?' People

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(1) That Khusrau actually wrote this ode before ʿAlâuddin entered Delhi is clear from one of his 'mesnevis' addressed to him in which he says: "Was I not the first to congratulate you on your accession to the throne? Behold my auspicious prophecy for fate has given you the throne of Delhi!"
(I.O. MS.) 1187; fol. 817b seq.)
نه من بودم از طبع دریا نشان ؛ جلوس ترا اولین دُر فشان ؛ مبارک زبانی من بین که بخت ؛ بدرگاه دهلی ترا داد تخت

(2) Khusrau: Khazâin-ul-futûh: (B.M. MS. No. Add. 16,838) fol. 5b and 6. Cf. also Badaoni I. 182, and Barni 242; ʿAshiqa (S.O.S. MS.) p. 65.

(3) Badaoni I. 182. Barni p. 242 gives the name as Hizabruddin (ہزبر الدین).

(4) I.O. MS. 1187, fol. 817b. seq. a long and fine mesnevi describing ʿAlâuddin's exploits.
کشید از کرم تیغ فتح آخته ؛ بفتح اگانی رایت افراخته

talked and whispered, saying there never had been a fortunate man like him.(1) All opposition was hushed by his military prowess and all grumbling mouths were sealed with gold, and the only thorn in his side now was the presence in Multan of his cousins, Jalâluddin's sons,(2) against whom he soon despatched, with strong forces, his brother, Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan. "All the lucky ones," says Khusrau, "bowed down before the king - all except the ill-starred Mîr of Multan.(3) As that enemy was not of sufficient importance for the king to march himself against him, Ulugh Khan started to remove that obstacle from the way. An army arranged like the stars from which even the sky sought protection moved on like raining clouds flooding the world with the waves of the sword. When the enemy heard of this strong army, he concealed himself into the wall of misery like an ant(4) and Ulugh Khan advanced to accomplish his task. He came to the ramparts of the fortress and wanted to send the enemy to the abyss and lay him low in the dust with the strokes of his catapults.(5) But when he considered that both parties were Musalmans he curbed his hasty wrath. The besieged also did not consider it proper that a mot should contend with the sun, and after a resistance of two or three weeks they got sick of their misguided chief. The generals of the army, after a consultation, came out of the fortress asking pardon and amnesty. Then the enemy was afraid of his misfortune and

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Arkalik Khan and Ibrâhim Rukruddîn Qadar Khan.

(3) By Mîr the poet means here amir or governor, referring, of course, to Arkalik Khan.

(4) i.e. fortified himself in Multan.

(5) 'Arûsak (عروسک) is a small machine for flinging stones.

sought strength from the saints.(1) One of these saints brought the two errant princes with him and handed them over to the king's commanders, so that the auspicious Khan turned towards the threshold of the king with victory and success."(2) Khusrau is silent about the fate of the unfortunate princes, but we know that they were blinded and ultimately put to death. Even the two young sons of Arkalik Khan were murdered, so that ʿAlâuddin could henceforth rule without fear of any rival claimant to the throne.(3) His power was now firmly established, and his court(4) was thronged by great and renowned nobles. For a time he gave himself up to pleasure and drank immoderately, but he soon got sick of wine and renounced it altogether. He now formed fantastic ideas about founding a new religion and going around on a tour of world-wide conquest like the great Alexandar of yore, and in fact affected the title of Sikandar-i-Thânî (the second Alexandar), but happily he had wise counsellors who pointed out to him, with due humility and deference, the uselessness of such plans and advised him to strengthen his kingdom and to increase his power by further conquests in India itself.

But before ʿAlâuddin could commence his campaigns of conquest, he had to deal with the Mongols who seem to have

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(1) The original has Khilwat-Nashînân (dwellers of solitude). The princes, finding their position untenable, beseeched some of the saints in Multan to interfere and intercede for them with Ulugh Khan. Sheikh Rukmuddin, son of Sheikh Sadruddin, delivered them up to Ulugh Khan after the latter had promised to spare their lives. See Badaoni I. 183; Barni 249.

(2) The mesnevi quoted above.

(3) See Barni p. 249. Badaoni I. 183: Ahmed Chap, the faithful minister, also suffered the same lot as his masters, but his life was spared.

(4) Barni 248. The word used is درسرای . It is interesting to note that Ibn-i-Batûta (Defremery iii.217) says: "ودار السلطان بدهلی تسمّیٰ دار سرا ..."

missed no opportunity of invading India. They were especially attracted to this country during periods of political changes and upheavals, and Jalaluddin's murder gave them another opportunity.

Early in 697 H, Kadar, a Mongol chieftain, invaded India with a large army, and advancing from the Jûdi mountains and crossing the Beas, the Jehlum and the Sutlej,(1) advanced towards Qasûr and Jâran-Manjûr.(2) Ulugh Khan was deputed by ʿAlâuddin to meet him and he defeated and scattered the Mongols on the 22nd of Rabîʿ-ul-Thânî 697 H. Many were captured and slain.

In 698 H., Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan were despatched on an expedition against Gujrat, with an army 'like the raining cloud'. Ulugh Khan, as 'the angel in charge of clouds', proceeded towards the sea and conquered the country 'bedecked as a bride', after a great slaughter so that 'in celebrating the total destruction of the Hindus, beasts ate tanbûl(3) and dyed their feet with henna'. The idols in the Somnat temple were destroyed and cast into the sea, but the biggest of them was spared and sent to Delhi, "and in that old land of unbelief the cry of the muezzin rose so

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(1) The MS. has Sutlad: (ستلد)

(2) Sic in Khazâin-ul-futûh. Other historians give the name as Jâlandar (Jullundur) the well-known town and district in the Punjab between the rivers Sutlej and Beas. See Barni 250; Firishta I. 102. (Lahore) Badaoni I. p. 184, has
But Khusrau always gives it as Jâran-manjur, and Manjûr-i-Jâran in one place (ʿAshîqa: p. 71. referring to this battle: گشت اندر حد منجور جارن / الغ خان بر مغل زد یورش تاتار

It is difficult to identify Jullundur with Jâran-Manjur, for the former name is found even in very early writings and there appears to be no reason why Khusrau should change it into the latter. Masûd b. Sad says:
لبس شگفتی نبا شد ار با شد ؛ بنده است قهرمان جالندر ؛

(3) The betel leaf. The idea is that the mouths and feet of the wild beasts were red with the blood of the slain:

loud that it could be heard in Baghdad and Madâyan(1) and the music of the 'Alâi Khutba(2) vibrated so mightily that it reached the dome of Khalîl(3) and the well of Zamzam. Khambâyat and Nahrwallah were captured and plundered and the strong fortress of Rantambhor was then besieged. The Hindus put up here a stout resistance and the siege lasted for almost five months.(4) But the hot and dry weather and shortage of provisions began at last to tell upon the garrison. Food was so scarce that "they bought a grain of rice for two grains of gold". The brave raja(5) in despair at last performed the 'jauhar', burning his women-folk in a huge pyre lit on a hilltop and himself came out of the fortress and fell dead fighting heroically. The fort thus fell into the hands of the besiegers on the 3rd of Zulqa'da 700 H. The generals turned back to the capital, now carrying with them huge spoils gathered from palaces and temples and the coffers of rich merchants in Cambay (Khambâyat), but, perhaps, the most valuable of these spoils were Kanwladî, the beautiful queen of Râjah Kiran of Nahr-wallah and Malik Mânik,(6) a handsome slave who later became

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(1) The ancient city of Ctesiphon.
Elliot iii. converts it into Madinah.

(2) i.e. the proclamation of 'Alâuddin as the lord and master.

(3) Qubbae-Khalîl.

(4) According to Barni, 'Alâuddin himself joined the besieging armies before the fall of the fortress, but Khusrau does not mention that here. In his 'Ashîqa, however, (S.O.S. MS. pp. 77-78) he clearly says that 'Alauddîn himself conquered the fortress and consigned it to his brother, Ulugh Khan.

(5) Hammîr Deo (Ashiqa p. 77). He is said to have possessed ten thousand Arab horses, numerous elephants and a countless army.

(6) I am not quite certain about the identification of Malik Mânik with Malik Kâfûr. Badaoni considers them to be identical. The name is given as Nayik or Tatak in Barni. Khusrau refers to Malik Mânik in his account of the fights with the Mongols. (See infra.)

known as Malik Kâfûr Hazârdînârî. Kanwlâdî entered the harem of the sultan, where she exercised a good deal of influence, and Malik Kâfûr soon became the most favoured servant of the king and the object of his perverse and unnatural affections.

Khusrau had already entered the service of 'Alâuddin and, when in the year 702 H. the king himself started for the conquest of Chitor, Khusrau accompanied him. The king left Delhi on the 8th of Jumâd-al-Thânî and the siege lasted a long time, the fortress falling after a long and stubborn resistance on the 11th of Muharram, 703 H. The rains made the task of the besiegers considerably more difficult and the poet must have been exposed to many hardships in the royal camp. He says, "I, who am the bird of this Sulaiman, was with him and although they often told me to go back to Delhi I remained there, fearing the displeasure of my master who may have said: 'How is it I do not see the hoopoo? Is he then absent?'(1) and I was afraid I would not be able to explain my absence nor to have the strength to reply to the royal order: 'He should bring me a clear proof (of his innocence).'"(2) He remained, then, with the king till the fort surrendered, and saw the slaughter of the unfortunate Hindus, thirty thousands of whom, according to him, were slain in one day. The life of the rajah was, however, spared. Chitor was named Khizr-âbâd, after the name of the prince, Khizr Khan, who was given a red umbrella and appointed governor of the district, and the king turned back to the capital.(3)

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(1) Referring to the story of Solomon and the hoopoo related in the Koran. ؛ مالی لا اری الهد هدام من الغائبین

(2) The Koran ؛ لیاتینی لسلطان مبین

(3) Khâzain-ul-futûh: fol. 29 seq (B.M. MS.) Cf. also Barni 299-300.

Soon after his return to Delhi, ʿAlâuddin had to face another Mongol invasion, the third during his reign. The second invasion under Qutlugh Khwaja had taken place in 698,(1) when the enemy almost reached the walls of Delhi and the king had to march out himself. The Mongols were defeated, but Zafar Khan, the brave general, had lost his life while pursuing them - much to the relief of the king, who was becoming jealous of his growing popularity and afraid of his heroic courage. This time the Mongols, led by Targhî, came in great strength and actually besieged the capital. There was great distress in the city owing to large numbers of refugees pouring in from all sides and shortage of foodstuffs, and the king had not sufficient forces at his command to raise the siege. After two months, however, the Mongols, as if by a miracle, raised the siege themselves and retreated.(2)

In 705 H. Ali Beg and Turtâq(3) with Targhî invaded India again. Targhî, however, soon retired, leaving the two Mongol princes to advance into the interior.(4) With

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(1) Curiously enough Khusrau makes no mention of this invasion in his Khazâin-ul-futûh, though he alludes to it in his ʿAshiqa:

ازان پس بود قتلوخواجه گستاخ ؛ قوی تر شجرهٔ ملعونه راشاخ ؛ بجد کیلی آمد کافر آن سال ؛ نه آن جرأت مبارک دید در فال ؛

See Barni 259 seq; and Firishta V.I. 103 seq. Qutlugh Khwaja was the son of Dava Khan, King of Mawaraunnahr, of whom Khusrau says, addressing Jalâluddin:

زوی رایان هندو را ازین پس رای بالا کن ؛ دوآساگیر وزیر باج پیلان پایمالش کن ؛

(2) Popular belief ascribed this to the spiritual powers of the saint Nizamuddin, while some thought it was due to a miracle of the king himself whom they believed to be possessed of supernatural powers. (صاحب کشف وکرامات). See Barni 300 seq; and Firishta I, iii. and seq.

(3) Firishta gives the second name as Tarpâl, while it is found elsewhere as Taryâq, but Turtâq or Tartaq is probably the correct reading. (Vide Firishta I, 114).

(4) Thus Khusrau says: "Targhî who saw his bald head on the lances of the Muslim heroes and who had with his guile eluded twice the stroke of the holy warriors..... was afraid and bolted away from behind."

an army of fifty thousand horse they advanced right up to the Siwaliks, burning and slaying and reaching Amroha. Malik Mânik was sent to fight against them and on the 10th of Jumâd-al-Thânî the two armies met. The Mongols were again defeated and both the leaders were taken prisoners and brought to Delhi with large numbers of their followers. Most of the latter were put to death and their heads and bodies built into the towers and walls of Siri, but the princes were spared and allowed to live in Delhi, where one of them soon died.(1)

Soon after, Kabak again marched across the Indus, burning with thoughts of revenge for the reverses suffered by his kinsmen, and proceeded far into Hindustân till he came to Nagor. Malik Kâfûr led an army against them and, routing the Mongols, captured Kabak, and "the trained dog with a collar round his neck"(2) was brought to Delhi.

The fifth and last invasion of 'Alâuddin's reign was made by the Mongols under Iqbal and Tay-bu,(3) who "came thirsting for the blood of the Musalmâns". Malik Kâfûr with Malik Ghâzî (Tughlaq) routed again the enemy and pursued him across the Indus slaying large numbers. Hundreds of

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(1) Khusrau says: و آن هر دو مهرهٔ مضروب را که معلق مانده بود در خانه فرود آوردند و کشادند و شان دادند الخ

(Khazâin-ul-futûh, fol. 19b.)
According to Firishta the two chiefs were trampled upon to death by elephants, which is evidently wrong in face of Khusrau's definite statement. Cf. also Barni p. 321.

(2) Cf. Elliot iii. 549.
who translates 'kalb-i-mu'allam' as 'that learned dog' which is absurd. For this invasion see Khazâinul-futûh (B.M. MS. fol. 20b. seq.); The 'Ashîqa (S.O.S. MS. p. 74); Barni pp. 321-322. قلاده بستهٔ آن کلب معلم را روان کردند پیش شاه عالم

(3) The names are given distinctly like this in the MS. (Khazâin-ul-futûh). In 'Ashiqa the names are Iqbâl and Taibu. Cf. Elliot's translation of the passage:

where he apparently takes 'mudbir' and 'madâbir' to be parts of the two names, while Khusrau, of course, means "the ill-starred Iqbâl and the ill-fated followers of Tay-bu.

prisoners were brought to Delhi and were thrown under elephants' feet or hanged from turrets and battlements so that 'the Chinese and the Tartars hung from the walls as negroes head downwards from a new building".(1) A lofty tower was built with their heads and limbs used as bricks.

These successive reverses damped the Mongols' ambition for the plunder and possession of the rich lands of India and for a time they gave up their usual incursions into the country. The inhabitants of India breathed a sigh of relief and gloated over the hideous murders of the captive Mongols or their kinsmen, the 'Neo-Muslims', who had settled in India and who were slaughtered wholesale after a conspiracy formed by some of them had been detected. Khusrau, who shared the sentiments of the populace and who had, moreover, a special grudge against the Mongols, ever since his captivity in Multan, seems to have been very jubilant over their reverses and to have really enjoyed the sight of the tortures that they were subjected to. His works are strewn thickly with tirades against them and with hymns of gratitude for the punishments "meted out to them by God". He says in an ode addressed to 'Alâuddin: "O thou who hast carried the flag of victory and success over the four quarters of the globe, thine Hindu slaves have struck at the very heart of Turkestan!(2).....Glory to God, for I have seen those dogs on camels against whom even the gentle camels cried in hateful protest! If there has

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(1) Alluding to the practice of suspending dark, hideous figures on the walls of a new building to frighten away evil spirits:
شد از حصار تتاری و چینی آویزان ؛ چو زنگیان نگونسار از عمارت نو به

(2) Alluding to Malik Mânik or Malik Kâfûr's successes against the Mongols. He says elsewhere: ('Ashiqa)
به ترکستان جنان بندی نبوده
که از ترکان بندی جان ربوده

ere now been current the proverb of 'camel and cat',(1) henceforth 'camel and dog' will become a common saying in the world. The 'dushâkhâs'(2) round their necks, one would think, are like a lover embracing fondly the neck of the beloved with his two arms."(3) While speaking of the persecution of the Mongols in India, he says: "The 'headless ones who each year brought the chains of hardship given by Timur Qâq to take prisoners from India were themselves either cut down by the sword and sent to hell or taken prisoner and spared. But as those who were thus liberated tried to break their chains and to raise disturbances, the king ordered some of them to be thrown into the river and a rain of blood was made to pour on the earth from the necks of others and their wheat-coloured(4) bodies were buried in the ground so that red roses and cocks-combs sprung from their ashes. Then with the heads of the Mars dogs(5) they built up a tower.....In the other distant parts of the country also similar towers were raised."(6)

'Alâuddin now took no more chances about further inroads of the Mongols. He had seen that the capital itself was not immune against their encroachments, and he

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(1) 'Shutar-gurbeh' camel-cat as symbolic of two things of great disparity and incongruity. To talk 'shutar-gurbeh' would, for instance, be to talk nonsense.

(2) A forked piece of wood that gripped the neck, a pillory.

(3) Bakîya Naqîya (I.O. MS. 1187, ode No. 31, fol. 357b, beg: ای لوای فتح و فیروزی بجا را رکان زده ؛ طا بندگان هندوت بر قلب ترکستان زده ؛

(4) i.e. red-complexioned, or rather of a yellowish complexion.

(5) Mars being the emblem of war and an inauspicious star.

(6) I'jâz-i-Khusrawî: Vol. I. p. 15 seq. For the tower cf. Barni, p. 321. According to him the tower was built before the Badaon gate and was in existence in the time he wrote his history.

started repairing the decaying ramparts, and, at the same time, built another strong fortress at Sìrî. Fortresses all over the route of the Mongols were also overhauled and rebuilt and manned with strong garrisons. Having thus secured the country against foreign invasions, he turned towards the internal administration. The mighty monarch had very early in his royal career cowed the nobles and filled their hearts with awe, yet he had to face two or three unpleasant risings against his authority. He was once very nearly killed by his nephew, Akitkhân, when out on a hunting expedition,(1) and at another time, while he was away on a campaign against the fortress of Rantambhur, a freed slave of the old Kotwâl Amîr-ul-Umarâ Fakhruddîn almost captured the throne of Delhi,(2) and the Neo-Moslems were often restless and troublesome.(3) He sought to root out all sedition and so consulted his advisers. The two main causes of restiveness and turbulence, he was convinced, were wine and riches. He renounced wine and prohibited its use all over his kingdom. Taverns became deserted and kegs and tubs of the red juice were emptied into gutters so that the streets overflowed with it. Elephants were employed to consume huge quantities of the precious vintage that had lain stored in the royal cellars, so that the old historian, Firishta, says with a sigh: "Happy the elephants of those days who thus enjoyed themselves!"(4) He took steps to check the accumulation of wealth among merchants and nobles,

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(1) See Barni p. 273 seq. Akitkhân was the son of Almâsbeg Ulugh Khan. Khusrau also alludes to this incident in the Nuh Sipihr.

(2) See Barni p. 280. His name was Hâji Maula.

(3) See Barni p. 335. Thirty thousands of them were killed and their houses plundered and burnt on the discovery of a plot against the king's life.

(4) Firishta I. p. 109:

suppressed profiteering and bribery and formed a market called the Dâr-ul-ʿAdl,[1] where all the traders and merchants had to sell their goods at prices fixed by the king. All cases of fraud or infringement of the rules laid down were strongly and summarily dealt with. ʿAlâuddin would test from time to time the prices in the market, and act himself like a 'muḥtasib'.[2] He did not, it is true, go himself to the market disguised as an old woman in a flowing veil to detect malefactors, but he employed methods equally original and efficacious. He would, for instance, give a small coin to a boy of tender age and ask him to go and buy a certain commodity in the market and bring it intact to him. He would then weigh and measure it, and woe to the seller who thought of preying upon the innocent ignorance of the child![3] "The justice of Omar," says Khusrau, "had to wait for seven hundred years before it found a new patron."[4]

Himself, probably, caring little about religion, and knowing less, he, as the head of the state, took strong measures against the spread of immorality and heresy that had taken place freely during the reigns of Kaiḳobâd and Jalâluddin. "Women of the city who went about spreading the snares of their curly locks and roamed at will in the town were all compelled to retire to seclusion, and renouncing their evil ways they rubbed their hands in repentance while

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(1) Ḵhazâin-ul-futûh, fol. 11; cf. also Ijâz-i-Ḵhusrawî R.I. p. 21 ; and Barni 305 seq.

(2) Officer whose duty it is to examine weights and measures, to regulate and control sale of drugs and wines, to check fraud, etc. For a very humorous sketch of a muhtasib see 'Hâji Baba of Ispahan' (Morier, London, 1928, p. 57).

(3) Barni p. 319.

(4) Ijâz-i-Ḵhusrawî R.I. p. 37.

twisting the threads[1] of their veils." A heretic sect, the Ibâḥatîya,[2] of whose evil ways the king had heard, was persecuted and suppressed, and all heresy disappeared so that even the 'fish that arose from the rivers was "sunni". Even wizards and witches did not escape the king's attention. "The blood-thirsty sorcerers, the man-eating hyenas, who sharpened their teeth to consume the flesh and blood of children and relished the blood that they swallowed were punished and men pelted their skulls with stones and extorted from their heads indemnity for the blood they had drunk."[3]

'Alâuddin then turned his attention towards public buildings in Delhi. The ancient capital had seen many changes since the time of Aybek and Iltutmish who had built the famous mosque "which all nations acknowledged as their Ka'ba and to which even the Black Stone paid homage", and the lofty pillar, that 'support for the azure ceiling of the sky', and the Shamsî tank 'built in stone between two hills whose water was so clear that a blind man could count the small

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(1) i.e. they now took to weaving veils for themselves. The Original has 'risha-i-dâmani', dâmani being a woman's veil or mantle. (Khazâin-ul-futûh, fol. 9).

(2) Khazâin-ul-futûh (B.M. MS. fol. 10), Khusrau mentions this sect more than once in his writings. Ibâḥatîya or Ahl-i-Ibâḥat literally means those who make or consider lawful such things as are unlawful according to orthodox religion. Firoz Shah Tughlaq (Futûhât: Elliot iii. 378) also mentions them, and according to Khusrau their evil practices included carnal relations among brothers and sisters, parents and children, and so forth. They were probably the Carmathians who were found in large numbers in Western India in those days, but a sect of the Hindus, the Saktas, would also answer very well to the description of the Ibâḥatîs given by Firoz Shah. (Vide Asiatic Researches xvii. p. 228). The Saktas or Kancheliyas were the devotees of the goddess Saktî.

(3) Khazâinul-futûh (fol. 9b.)

pebbles in its bottom at night'(1) with the round terrace built in the middle 'like a bubble on the surface of water'. Qutbuddin Aybek and Sultân Shamsuddîn resided in the old fort of Rai Pathura (Indrapat), but Ghiyâthuddîn Balban built a new fortress which he named Narzaghan and a palace called the Kushak-i-Lâl (Red Palace). Mo'izuddin Kaiqubâd built a new city by the river Jamna which became known as Kiloghari and later as the New City. 'Alâuddin, having constructed a fortress in Siri, laid the foundations of a new city. The old city of Delhi and Siri, both circular in shape and surrounded by strong ramparts, were enclosed by two walls that joined them and had numerous gates outside and inside these walls. The space between the two cities was later known as Jahan-panâh and thus the whole formed a big continuous city.(2)

'Alâuddin ordered the extension of the mosque, the great Jâmi' Masjid. A fourth 'maqsûra'(3) was added to the three already existing. Then the king "thought of constructing a replica to the pillar of the mosque which was unique in the world.....He first ordered a vast space to be enclosed in the court of the mosque so that the throng of

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(1) Qirân-us-Sadain pp. 23 seq. The verse has become very popular for praising the clearness and transparency of water. درد آبش ز صفا ریگ چو در تواند بدل سنگ ستد

See, for instance, Iqbâl nameh-yi-Jahângîrî of Mu'tamad Khan (Calcutta 1865, p. 165) where it is quoted.

(2) For descriptions of these old cities of Delhi, see Ma'âthir-ul Umarâ (Calcutta 1309 H. Vol. III. p. 474), Zafar Nâmeh, p. 50, Elliot iii. 447; Malfûzat-i-Timûri. Thomas' Pathan Kings of Delhi (p. 313), Kiloghari was situated south-east of Humayun's tomb and N. by W. of Khidrabad. The Jamna has since then changed its course. See also Journal Arch. Soc. Delhi 1853, p. 52; Cunningham's report 1862-3, p. 38. Jalâluddin Firoz Khalaji had also built a palace in Kiloghari which he called The Green Palace. Khusrau praises it in an ode, B.M. MS. of Kulliyât, fol. 389b.
زهی کشیده علم برفراز سبز ایوان ؛ ز روی سرخ تو سرسبز گشته بخت جوان

(3) A chamber, a hall, a court. Khusrau's account would denote that the famous Quth minar formed a part of the mosque and was not an independent structure, as commonly believed.

the faithful which, by the grace of God, finds the world too narrow for itself, may get ample place in it, and commanded that the circumference of the new pillar be twice that of the old one and its top be proportionately high so that the top of the old one may look like the central gallery of the new one." Stones were brought from far and near, from quarries and demolished Hindu temples and "the stone-carvers of Hind who shamed even Farhâd with their skill in stone-work, rendered the faces of the stones so smooth that imagination itself would slip on them. The masons of Delhi who considered even Nu'mâni-Mundhir[1] to be a mere block-head in the art of building.....joined stone with stone in such a manner that the fancy of a Rhazes[2] could not penetrate their joints." But 'Alâuddin never lived to finish the pillar which still lies incomplete, a monument to the vanity of human ambition.[3]

The Shamsî tank next received his attention. This tank, which supplied the city with water, had become choked and dry. 'Alâuddin built a domed roof over it and had it cleared so that "the hand of every digger becoming the staff of Moses", the tank was again full of water, and the white pavilion in its middle with its reflection 'looked like an

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(1) Nu'mân bin Mundhir, the king of Hîra in Mesopotamia, who built the famous castle of Khwarnaq, mentioned as a masterpiece of architectural skill in Pre-Islamic Arab poetry. See Nicholson's Literary History of the Arabs, p. 40. For a description of the mosque, cf. Ibn-i-Batûta (Defremery iii. p. 150 seq.) According to him it had four courts (صحن).

(2) Ar-Râzî, Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyya, the famous alchemist and physician. See Clement Huart. Arabic Literature, pp. 307-308.

(3) The minar, commenced in 1311, had a bottom circumference of 254 ft. It was carried up to the height of 75 ft. above the plinth and then abandoned. Vide Fergusson II. p. 206; Raverty T.N. pp. 621-622.

ostrich egg one half above and the other below water.(1)

Having thus secured peace and prosperity in his vast dominions, the king again thought of the rich lands of Deccan whence he had obtained such rich plunders in his first raid. Râm Deo was still the king at Deogir and as he had been rather lax in the regular payment of the tribute levied upon him, the king found a ready pretext for invading his territory. Malik Nâib Kâfûr, the great Bârbek, was consequently sent to Deogir with a large army to 'bring the rajah to his senses. Kâfûr reached Deogir on 19 Ramaḍân, 706 H. and routed the forces of Râmdeo's son who had to fly for his life. Deogir surrendered soon after; and the Bârbek, taking with him immense booty and Râmdeo himself returned to the capital. "For six months the rajah, pardoned by the king, bent his body like the crescent-moon in the service of the king", and after that the king, bestowing on him a blue(2) chatr, sent him back with all honour to his country and throne.

While Malik Kâfûr was away on this expedition, the king himself, feeling no doubt restless after a long period of inaction, had marched out to Siwâna, a fortress hundred farsangs from Delhi.(3) It was held by a 'gabr' Sutuldeo,

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(1) Qirânus-Sadain. Cf. Ibn-i-Batûta's description (Defremery (iii. 154). The tank according to him was 2 mils by 1 mil, and had pavilions on its four sides for sightseers and excursionists. According to the Malfûzat of Khwaja Bakhtyâr Kâki, the site of the tank was pointed out to Iltutmish by the Prophet in a dream. (Tabaqât-i-Akbari: Bib. Ind. p. 61.)

(2) Elliot (iii. 78) has "red umbralla", but the reading in the MS. is 'saqf rang' or 'of sky colour'. (fol.32b.) I have followed Khusrau in the following accounts of the southern conquests. Barni and Firishta agree with him in all important details.

(3) So according to Firishta. Amîr Khusrau says that the king started on this expedition in 708 H. in the month of Muharram (Khazain, fol. 33). The fortress was apparently named Kairâbâd after its conquest, for the poet says:

حدیث فتح سیوانہ کہ گشت چیر آباد

who lay concealed in this mountain fortress like a griffin while several thousand other gabrs like hill vultures perched themselves about him on the hillside, awaiting their destruction and opening their mouths like the stone-eating birds,(1) till the stones of the royal catapults flew at them.' The gabrs,(2) nevertheless, offered a stout resistance and it was only after about two months' hard fighting that the fortress fell and Sutuldeo was killed. The territory was allotted to Malik Kamâluddin Kierk(3) and the king returned to Delhi.

In 709 H. Malik Kâfûr started on his campaigns in the extreme south. The king sent him off with great preparations, with a red umbralla, a red canopy and a numerous army. He reached Masûdpur(4) on the 9th day. Crossing the rivers Jamna, Chambal, Kanwari, Banas and Bhoji(5) in six days, the army reached Sultanpur or Irajpur, and after a halt of four days there, resumed the march. Thirteen days after Khândâr was reached on the first of Rajab. After another eight days of difficult marches through hilly country, crossing numerous streams, among them the Narbada that seemed to be a remnant of the Deluge, the army arrived at Nilkanta, in the territory of Deogir. The Rajah greeted the royal standard and supplied all necessary provisions for the army. Kâfûr now advanced further south, and crossing a very difficult, rocky country

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(1) Sangkhwâr: a bittern, an ostrich or an eagle or sand-grouse (qata) that swallows stones.

(2) A gabr or geubre is really a fire-worshipper, but the word is generally used in the sense of an unbeliever or infidel (Cf. Ashiqa pp. 81-82.)

(3) Or Gurg. The name can be read gurg, kurk, karak, etc., but I think 'kark or kierk', meaning a fowl or partridge is the probable name.

(4) Khusrau says of it: که از پور مسعود نامی گرفته است

(5) Elliot (iii. 79) gives the last two names as Niyas (or Bambas: f.n.) and Bahuji. Banas is a well-known river.

came to a place between two rivers, the Basanhar and Bâji, near Baseragar, where, they told him, there was a diamond mine. But 'as the strong warriors dig out diamonds with their swords and not with pickaxes', the Malik proceeded on till he arrived before the fortress of Sirbar(1) in the territory of Tilang.(2) The brother of the ruler, Anânîz by name, was captured, the fortress reduced, and the rajah burnt himself to death.

On the 14th of Shabân, the country of Konarbâl(3) was reached, whence Kâfûr despatched a party of a thousand horsemen to reconnoitre the country and to find out the way to Arangal.(4) They reached the hill of Anum-Kanda,(5) and saw from it the fortress and city of Arangal, its suburbs and gardens. Malik Kâfûr joined the advance-guard soon, pitched the red canopy near Anum-Kanda and besieged the strong fortress that had two formidable ramparts, the outer one of mud, and the inner one of brick, so high that "its turrets rose up in air and soared up to the moon while its bottom passing below water reached the fish". The royal army after a hard struggle broke through the outer defences and compelled the rajah, Luddar Deo,(6) to sue for peace. He sent to the malik an image of himself in gold with a rope

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(1) Or Sarbar (vide Elliot iii. 80) It is probably Sirpur.

(2) Or Talang; but not Taling for Khusrau makes it rhyme with 'bang'. Yet the name is commonly written as Telingana.

(3) Elliot (iii. 80) Kunarpâl.

(4) Warangal in Mysore.

(5) Elliot (iii. 80) 'An-Makinda'. Anum-Kanda or Hanum-Kanda is the correct name and is clearly written like that in the MS. The hill is situated four miles from the ruins of the ancient fort of Warangal. See Gribble: History of the Deccan (1896) p. 8, and "South India and her Mohammadan Invaders" by Aiyangar (1921) p. 88.

(6) That is how the Mohammadan historians write the name. The correct form, however, is Rudra Deva (Pratapa Rudra Deva.) See Gribble: p. 7, and Aiyangar, p. 87.

round its neck in token of surrender and a humble request that his life be spared. "If the king," he said, "desires treasures and presents, I have of gold enough to gild all the mountains of Hind, and it is at his service. But if the world-decorating judgment of the king, in its generosity, allows this yellow-faced servant to keep a few of those gold coins, he will be able to preserve his dignity among his compeers. If the object of the king be diamonds and pearls, I have collected so many of them that neither the eyes of the rocks have beheld nor the ears of the fish heard of a similar treasure. Of horses, too, I possess twenty thousands, both bahri and kohi,(1) the former of which would fly like the wind on the sea without wetting their feet, and the latter would make the mountain ridges tremble like the Indian sword with their tread. The reins of all these horses will be tied to the royal stable. Elephants also have I, hundreds of them, which I would gladly send to the sublime thresh-hold. They are the elephants of Ma'bar, not the grass-eating ones, and all young and new-born who are now just growing their tusks, not like those whose tusks have become raised up with age or who have become toothless. These elephants have heard the elephant-prostrating noise of the royal forces, and with their ears wide open they draw lines on the ground with their trunks,(2) in humility and repentence, saying that hence-forward they would not turn their faces towards the Ka'ba of Islam except in slavish deference.....In short this slave, Luddar Deo, places in one scale of the balance all

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(1) Literally 'maritime' and 'mountainous', probably special breeds of horses.

(2) از بینی خط بر زمین کشیدن a form of penance or a sign of abject humility or emphatic repentance was to draw lines on the ground with the nose.

the wealth, elephants and horses he possesses, and in the other his own life, and the king can choose either of them, may Iqbâl[1] of China with his chiefs be tied to the chains of his elephants!"

This message was delivered to Kâfûr by the rajah's 'basîths'[2] or messengers in eloquent Hindi "more cutting than the sword", and next day the rich presents consisting of elephants, precious stones, like emeralds, rubies, 'rummânîs',[3] cat's-eyes and cock's-eyes[4] and diamonds, pearls and horses were brought to the royal camp. The malik, satisfied that the rajah could pay no more, accepted the presents, and returned to Delhi arriving there on Muharram 710 H., where he was received by the king in great state.

It was during the early stages of this expedition that Rajah Karn's[5] daughter, the beautiful Devaldi, was captured, chiefly by the help of Alp Khan, the governor of Gujrat. She was brought in Delhi to her fond mother, Kanwlâdî, and soon a great romance sprung up between the Rajput princess and Khizr Khan, which Khusrau has described at length in his 'Ashîqa. Khizr Khan was married by his mother to her brother

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(1) The word can be read 'afyâl' (pl. of fîl) = elephants, but I think Iqbâl is a better reading. Khusrau is alluding to Iqbâl Banda or Manda, the Mongol chief who invaded India. See supra (Khazâin-ul-futuh, fol. 50)

(2) Hindi word meaning a 'rasûl'. Thus in Khâliq Bârî:
بسیتہ رسول پیمبر جان

(3) Literally "pomegranate coloured", a kind of ruby.

(4) عین الھرۃ Oeil de chat, variete du quartz chatoyant.

(5) The rajah after the conquest of his kingdom by 'Alâuddin's generals, had found a shelter with Râmdeo of Devgir. His name is indifferently given as Kiran or Karan, etc., but the Sanskrit form is Karna and Khusrau has the correct form in his works. He says in the 'Ashîqa (p. 95):
درآں حدکرن رای بود بانام
and again on p. 97: سریر آرای ملک ہندوان کرن

For the story of how Devaldi fell into the hands of the king's soldiers, vide Firishta V.I. 116-17.

Alp Khan's daughter, but the young prince who was madly in love with Devaldi at last succeeded in persuading his mother to consent to his marriage with her.

In Jumâd II., 710 H., another large army was sent for the conquest of Ma'bar. Malik Kâfûr, who had risen greatly in 'Alâuddin's favour since his victory in the south, was again in command, and after a grand muster lasting for fourteen days, held on the ford of the Jamna, he started with swift marches, reaching Kaithûn[1] after twenty-one days. They arrived in Gurgâno[2] after another seventeen days, having crossed on their way lofty hills where huge horses looked like ants creeping on the hillside and elephants like particles of dust in the sun-lit crevice of a house, and waded through many streams. Here they halted for some days and received twenty-three elephants sent by the rajah of Tilang. After crossing the Tâwi (Tâpti), they arrived at Deogir[3] which had been decorated in honour of the royal army. "They saw a city more fresh and pleasant than the paradise of Shaddâd. Every street was a garden where the money-changers sat with heaps of small and large 'Achus'[4] and gold and silver 'tankahs'. Clothes of every kind, unprocurable anywhere from Bihar in India to Khorasan, lay in bundles in shops, like tulips on the hills or hyacinths in the garden. Fruits of the best kind, fresh and luscious, were piled

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(1) Elliot (iii.) Kanhon. It is probably Kanhur. See Aiyangar, p. 198.

(2) Or Ghurgâno, Khargâno (گرگانو) etc. Probably Kharagam, S.W. of Indore. (See Aiyangar, p. 101).

(3) Cf. the ode in Nihâyat-ul-kamâl (B.M. MS. 25,087. Kulliyat, fol. 459b.) where he praises Deogir and describes its amenities at length.

(4) Khusrau mentions Achu or Achhu as a coin of southern India with 'fanam' in several places.

high and every kind of equipments required by the soldiers, cotton, woollen and leathern cloths, as well as brass and steel armour, were kept ready." The rajah had moreover instructed his 'dalawî' or commander, to help in the advance of the royal army. The Dalavî[1] held a place very distant from Deogir, so that "from Deogir, the city of security, to the town of devastation (Bândari), held by Pars Râm, the Dalavi,"[2] the army had to make five halts and to cross three big rivers, Sini, Godavari and Pehnur.[3] At Bandari they heard that the two brothers, Bîr Pandaya and Sundar Pandaya, had fallen out, and while the former had gone away to chastise his younger brother, Ballâl Deo of Dhursamundar[4] had attacked and captured two cities belonging to him, but hearing of the approach of the royal army had retired to his dominions.

Kâfûr reached before the fortress of Dhursamandar on Thursday, the fifth of Shawwâl. The rajah, Ballâl Deo, wanted to make peace with the khan, but his ministers urged him to fight. "If we have to die, let us not die disgraced," they said. But the rajah replied: "Our great priests of yore have thus declared that the Hindus cannot stand before the Turks as fire cannot resist water."

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(1) From Karn, dal = an army, means a commander-in-chief and hence the prime minister under the Hindu rulers of Kysore (cf. Aiyangar, p. 92).

(2) Elliot has been misled by the epithet 'Kharâbâbâd', used by Khusrau for Bândari as opposed to Aimanâbâd (not Imânabâd) used for Deogir, and considers it to be a proper name. This has led Aiyangar to make wild conjectures about the identity and position of Kharabâbâd. (See pages 102 and 198 of his book), an imaginary city.

(3) Elliot (iii. 88) Binhur. Aiyangar (p. 93 seq.) changes it into Bhima. But a river of the name Pennur is given in the atlas and that I think is the river Khusrau means. Aiyangar identifies Bândari with Pandharpur. (See p. 192 of his book.)

(4) Bellâla deva of Devarasamudra (Vira Ballala III.)

He sent messengers and wanted to secure peace on terms similar to those accepted by Luddar Deo and Râmdeo. But Kâfûr offered him the three alternatives of Islam, tribute (dhimma) or death, whereupon the râjah sent the following reply: "All the wealth and goods that this slave Ballâl possesses, are at the service of the sky-sheltering threshhold and the slave Ballâl also.....Tomorrow morning ere the lamp of the moon has set I shall present all I have to the Islamic faith keeping not a single thread with myself except the zone which is the indispensable emblem of my broken Hindu religion."

The malik at last accepted the presents offered by the rajah. They were brought to the royal camp by several 'basîths'[1] and consisted of huge, 'demon-like' elephants and horses of various kinds,[2] and next day the rajah himself coming out of the fortress paid homage to the royal canopy.

Kâfûr stayed at Dhursamundar for twelve days, sent the elephants to Delhi and then proceeded towards Mábar.

Between Dhursamundar and Mábar they crossed a mountain "whose top touched the clouds and was bare of all vegetation", and where they found two passes in two 'ghâtîs',[3] Talmalî and Tabar.[4] They then came to a

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(1) Khusrau gives their names as Bâlakdeo Nâyik, Nayan (Narayan) deo and Jîtmal. (fol. 67b.) Cf. also Elliot iii. 89.

(2) These were "Bahrîs, who, while swimming, considered the sea a pool of water; zaghchashms (crow-eyed); siyâhs (blacks); Nuqras (silver-grey); Abrashes (dappled greys) and 'gulgûnân' which looked as if wind had been made rose-coloured.....Some of them were huge like elephants, but so swift and active that one thought they could enter into an ant-hole."

(3) The manuscript has: (كهتى)

(4) Sic in the MS. Elliot (iii. 90) has Sarmali and Tabar. (See also Aiyangar p. 103). Tabar is the pass now known as Toppur Pass. It is difficult to identify Talmali or Saramali. It may be, as Aiyangar suspects, a corrupt form of Puramali.

river and encamped in a desert, and commenced "wiping away the dirt of unbelief from that begrimed country with the water of their swords", and despoiled a place called Mardi.(1)

In the month of Zulqada, Kâfûr started from the river Kanuri in the direction of Bîr Dhûl. The Rai was filled with consternation and thought of fleeing to the sea and take shelter in an island, but finding that unpracticable, he prepared himself for resistance. "All the Hindus donned the armour and ate the tanbûl, but they ate it only to make ready for a flight, for as they chewed the leaves they saw their mouths bleed in grief for them.....The Bîr also, in accord with them, chewed the leaf and swallowed blood." On the approach of the royal army he fled to the city of Kam(2) and, taking some provisions and treasures, proceeded to Kandur.(3) "There also his feet could find no hold, and so he betook himself to the forests where the elephants and tigers live." A number of Muhammadans in the rajah's service came and joined Kâfûr's army. Bîr Dhûl(4) was occupied and though the rains now set in heavily, Kâfûr

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(1) Aiyangar (pp. 96-97) identifies Mardî with Madûra. Khusrau says of it: "The impotent Hindus had named their town Mardî, while there was no manliness (Mardî) in it at all, and they dreamed idle dreams fancying themselves to be very courageous and brave."...Wassâf also has the same name.
Elliot omits this portion in his translation of the Khazâin-ul-futûh. I think Amir Khusrau does not mean by Mardî the city of Madura, for later on we find Mathra (fol. 79b.) for Madura.

(2) The reading in the MS. (fol. 73b) is کم. Further on it is کم (fol. 79). Elliot has Kham. Aiyangar identifies it with Kadambavanam (p. 107).

(3) Identified by Aiyangar with Kannanur (Khandanpuram). Vide pp. 110-111.

(4) A curious name. It is certainly the name of a place other than Dhur Samundar, for Khusrau says: "The rai was Bir and the city also Bir" (fol. 71 رای بیر و شهر بیر) and in the passage plays upon the words Dhul (which means dust in Hindi) and Duhul (a drum). Aiyangar is inclined to identify it with Vira Solan or Gangaikondasolapuram which he describes to be the capital of Vîra Pandaya. But according to Khusrau his capital was Patan (Pattanam). See p. 165.

started in pursuit of the Rai. On the way to Kandur he met and scattered a detachment of his army, and in Kandur 120 elephants with huge treasures fell into his hands. Then he proceeded towards Jâlkota, but finding no trace of the Rai, 'who had fled to a forest where even an ant could not creep on account of the thick vegetation', he ventured to Kandur and busied himself in collecting elephants and gold, and obtained 250 elephants.

He then plundered the Golden Temple(1) 'as old as the blasphemy of 'Azâzîl'.(2) It was like a pillar of gold extending from the earth to the sky, scratching the eyes of stars, and entering the orb of the sun.....Its walls were so thickly studded with rubies and emeralds of sun-like brilliance that the onlooker saw red and yellow and the eyes were jaundiced at the sight of gold. The green emeralds, one would fancy, were like a parrot flown out of the moon's egg, and the bejewelled body of the idol looked as if there are swellings on the sun....." All this wealth was plundered, the 'lingâs' were destroyed and the priests slain, and Kâfûr then proceeded to the city of Kâm. In five days more he reached Mathra (Madura), which was the capital of Sundar Pandaya, the brother of the Rai (Vira

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(1) Aiyangar (pp. 108-109) identifies the temple with Chidambaram, one of whose popular names was Ponnambalam or Golden Hall. Khusrau gives the name as Marhatpuri (Elliot-Brahmastpuri) which, as Aiyangar surmises, may be a distorted form of Brahmapuri, the sacerdotal name given to Chidambaram in the Saiva literature. In the 'Ashiqa Khusrau says of Bir (Vira) Pandaya:

لبھی سنہری جنگلی وتری ہم ؛ فتن خوش کردہ و مرھٹ پری ہم ؛ فتن راساختہ منزلگہ فویش ؛ بت و بتخانہ ؛ درم وحلقہ پری بستیں ؛

and then describes the idol.
(Note that in these verses Brahmastpurî would be an impossible reading.)

(2) The denial of Iblis or 'Azâzîl, who refused to acknowledge the superiority of Adam.

Pandaya). They found the city empty. The rajah had fled with his rânîs, leaving only two or three elephants in the temple of Jagnâr.(1) Kâfûr, infuriated, set fire to the temple.

With the immense booty, the malik now started back. The line of the captured elephants stretched three farsangs long, there were numerous horses and five hundred 'mans' of gems and gold. The return march was commenced on the 4th of Dhulhijja and Delhi was reached on the 4th of Jumâda II. 711 H. The King received Kâfûr in a magnificent Durbar specially held for the occasion. The rich spoils were presented before the staring eyes of the courtiers and the victorious generals were generously rewarded. Never before had such treasures been brought to Delhi, and 'Alâuddin for once again was as generous as he had been when he marched from Karra to the capital. The nobles and maliks each received four, two, one or a half 'man' of gold, and there was general rejoicing all over the country.

According to Badaoni, Amir Khusrau was also with the malik in this last great expedition of 'Alâuddin's reign. Khusrau himself does not say that and it seems unlikely that the poet should have accompanied the army on its long and arduous journey, when the king with his court was in Delhi. He was now already a comparatively old man, and since he became a disciple of Nizâmuddin Auliya he tried as far as possible to shun the company of nobles and soldiers and to devote himself to piety and prayer. His detailed account of the campaign would, no doubt, suggest that the poet possessed first-hand information about it that he was

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(1) Probably a modification of Jaganâth, as Khusrau puns upon the word 'nâr' (fire). See Aiyangar.

an actual witness of the spectacular drama that unfolded itself in the far-off lands of the south. But we must remember that Khusrau wrote his Khazâin-ul-futûh as a state historian and must have based his narrative on authentic official records so that he could mention all the details of the battles without being through the fray himself.

'Alâuddin's long reign of twenty years that was now drawing to a close had been the most productive period of Khusrau's life. He completed his third dîwân[1] and wrote the well-known Khamsa during this period and attained that perfection and maturity in his poetry, which age alone can impart. His fame, as he says, had spread from city to city and like the sun had seized the East and the West.[2] But whether the poet was very happy and prosperous as well is doubtful. He speaks of 'Alâuddin's reign as one of general prosperity, peace and security. "Wonderful peace and security," he writes,[3] "for from the ramparts of Delhi to the compounds of Khorasan a carpet of red satin has been spread with the blood of the ruddy-visaged Chinese so that all turbulence is dormant and all disorders and tumult extinct and the mischief-mongers are fallen.....On one side the mountain-like armies of the Chengiz-Khânîs have been blown off beyond the Oxus by the furious blast of his might, and on the other side the powerful rais of India, who with their numerous elephants used to trample the ranks of the Turks,

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(1) Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl. See infra

(2) Dibâcha of Bakîya-i-Nakîya. (I.O. MS. 1187, fol. 320).

(3) I'jâz-i-Khusravî. pp. 18-20. This voluminous prose work also Khusrau compiled during 'Alâuddin's reign. See infra

have not only been compelled to give elephants and treasures, but some of them who were still truculent have been so crushed that their heads were thrown like oil-cans under elephants' feet and with the oil of those cans(1) the roughness of the elephants' feet was smoothed out. In matters of justice and the welfare of his subjects, he has devised such laws as could not be imaged in the mirror of Alexandar or beheld in the Cup of Jemshid. With his balanced judgment he has laid down such a principle for cheapening grain, which is the leaven of life's substance, that if for years the wandering clouds do not pour down the sweat of their brow, the wind does not move its fan, the ruddy soil does not grow any green herbage and the hot sun does not ripen the crops, he can keep the multitude supplied with food from his royal granaries. Other requirements of the people, too, even if they be red sulphur(2) or white rubies,(3) he has rendered cheaper and more easily accessible than yellow amber or red grain. Moreover, money, which is the elixir of desires and the most cherished of objects, has become so cheap on account of his heavy gifts and abundant charities that no one feels the strain of the high price of a stuff, so that prosperity and comfort prevail all over his dominions.....Robbers flee away from the shadow of wealth as shadow flees from the sun and justice is busy in uprooting tyranny as a lamp roots out darkness. The mighty

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(1) i.e. blood. Grease or oil was apparently applied to elephants' feet. A commentator says that oil-cans were placed under their feet for some time till, by gradual absorption of oil, the harshness and roughness was removed.

(2) Gûgard-i-Ahmar or Gûgard-i-Hamra, the Philosopher's stone or elixir.

(3) Lal-i-Sapîd, something as imaginary and fabulous as the philosopher's stone, for a ruby cannot be white, although there is one with a very light pink colour, called lal-i-piyâzî (onion ruby).

elephant has not the courage to tread haughtily in the path of a feeble ant and the hungry tiger has not the cheek to laugh at the unsteady gait of a lame deer."(1)

Ziyâ Barnî is rather inconsistent about this point and makes apparently contradictory statements concerning the general economic conditions of the time. While recounting, for instance, the 'wonders' of 'Alâuddin's reign, he says: "The first wonderful thing was the cheapness of grains, clothes and other requisites of livelihood, whose prices never varied in spite of droughts and famines, and as long as 'Alâuddin was alive this cheapness remained undisturbed."(2) But while speaking of the reign of Qutbuddîn Mubârak Shah he asserts: "After a long time 'tankahs' and 'jîtals' poured into purses and bags.....People got rid of the ill-temper, severity and multifarious exactions of Sultan 'Alâuddin. Gold and silver appeared in and outside the houses, streets and quarters of the city."(3) 'Alâuddin certainly seems to have exercised a good deal of discretion in how he spent his money. Even Khusrau says: "The characteristics of his sublime nature were all in accord with the laws of moderation. His anger was like the fire that cooks, not that which burns; his mercy like the wind that blows freely but raises no dust; his temper like the water that pleases but drowns not, and his generosity like the mine that treasures wealth but does not destroy it."(4) Having once consolidated his position by an almost fantastically generous distribution of gold, he took

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(1) I'jâz-i-Khusrawî (Intro: pp. 18-22).

(2) Barni p. 339.

(3) Barni pp. 382-383.

(4) I'jâz-i-Khusrawî (Dibacha: p. 39).

care not to squander his treasury in lavish gifts. His officers got no fabulous remunerations(1) and the traders could not hoard money by profiteering. His control over the financial resources of the country was as strict as it was complete, and although a few suffered the majority of his subjects seem to have been better off than they had been in the time of his predecessors.

He was almost illiterate and consequently had little regard for learning and scholarship, and did not patronise the literary men of his time as generously as Kaikobâd or Firoz Khalâji had done. Yet his reign could boast of a greater number of poets, scholars and saints than that found in the reign of any other king of Delhi. "The most wonderful thing," says Barni, "which people beheld in his reign was the throng of great men of all nationalities, masters of every science and experts in every art. The capital of Delhi, by the presence of these peerless men of extraordinary talents, had become the envy of Baghdad, the rival of Cairo and the equal of Constantinople."(2) "A city like Delhi!" says Khusrau, "hills around it and a river in its midst! Every stone in it which you turn will disclose a pearl of poesy and from every yard of earth that you dig a fountain of ideas will spring forth."(3) Khusrau and Hasan, of course, were the chief poets of the time and 'Alâuddin seems to have confirmed Khusrau in the office of

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(1) "The fourth wonder seen in his reign," says Barni, "was the appointment of a large number of officials on small salaries." p. 340.

(2) Barni p. 341.

(3) Dîbâcha of Wastul-Hayât (I.O. MS. 1187, fol. 55b. seq.)

'mushafdâr'(1) conferred upon him by Firoz Khalǰji.

According to Barni, ʿAlâuddin did not add anything to the annuity of one thousand tankahs that Khusrau used to receive before his reign.(2) But it is apparent from Khusrau's poems that the king's favours to the poet were frequent and abundant, and that he had given him a village in reward for a poem.

Khusrau had, however, to make a hard struggle before he could persuade the stern and astute monarch to loosen his purse strings. In a poem which he wrote in the fourth year of ʿAlâuddin's reign he says addressing him: "The year when the Shadow of God ascended the throne, the first honour that my fortune bestowed on me was my

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(1) In a fragment (qita) in Ghurratul-Kamâl Khusrau requests the king to give him this office: "O King of Kings! to whom the sky turned and said: 'I am a slave, grateful to the universal bounty of the King', what I desire from thee is the office of 'mushafdârî' so that the amulet of my prayers become the armour for his royal body....."

ای شهنشاهی که گردون رو بسویت کرد و گفت بندهٔ مستظهرم من از عطائی عام شاه
خواهشم از ختم شاهان شغل مصحفدار لیست تا بود هر زد عایم جوشن اندام شاه

(2) Barni p.
In a poem Khusrau asks the king to give him the allowance fixed on him by Firoz Khalǰji: (B.M. MS. 25,087, fol. 97 seq.)

بود از احسان جلالی مدام تنگه زآمره هزار انعام (؟) ؛ مدت از شاه امید آمد
که مقرر شود آن فرجامم

admission to the royal court, where I used to stand before the king in the proper place of my service. One day as with a charming ode I sprinkled the royal carpet with sugar, the King of the World was pleased to command me to sit in the court. The Khân-i-Khânân[1] was very kind to me on hearing that letter of victory and gave me a special robe of honour and five hundred silver tankahs, and the memory of that gift is still fresh in my mind. May God light the soul of the great Khan with the torch of His forgiveness, and may the King live beyond all reckoning of time to occupy the throne of happiness! I, an humble admirer of the King, may also get what I want. O King! I know that there never was a wiser king for you are a thorough connoisseur of skill, a good critic of verses and a friend of poetry. But alas! I have fallen on such unlucky times that I can hardly get a decent living. If I do not prosper in your time, how can I ever do so after you? How sad that there be a king like you and a poet like me be stricken with want! The allowance which I get from your majesty is my right[2] and the reward of my service for I remain always beside the royal stirrup.....But as I want to praise you, how can I write verses without some reward? You cannot possibly be unaware of the generosity of other kings to poets, who gave away often a treasure for an ode. Khâqânî, in reward for one ode, got a thousand dînârs for each verse and the poet Mo'izzî[3] sat

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(1) i.e. Ulugh Khan, Almâs Beg, 'Alâuddin's brother who died soon after the conquest of Chitor.

(2) The annuity of a thousand tankahs was granted to him by Jalâluddin as the pay of his office which he apparently retained during Alauddin's reign.

(3) Poet-laureate of Sultan Jalâluddin Malik Shah, the Saljûq prince, (542 H.). See Daulat Shah 57-60 Chahâr Maqâla p. 155 (ص۲۸ حواشی), Amir Mu'izzî also held a high office under the king.

on a gold chair in Merv. When Firdausi wrote his Shâhnâmeh, the king gave him an elephant-load of gold, and yet his miserliness has become a tale. 'Unsurî also got endless favours from Sultan Mahmûd so that all his furniture was of gold. That patronage which the kings showed to the poets has left behind everlasting panegyrics and an eternal fame of their generosity. We know when they lived and what patronage they received from the kings: but tomorrow when we are dead and gone, what would people tell about us? O King of the World, for this reason charity to poets is imperative! If the wizards of those days were peerless in their age, I also, in my age, am not less than they were - if not more - and although my name is not 'Unsurî my poetry is in no way inferior to his. He quaffed the cup of gold by his skill in poetry: I also hope to do the same by the grace of your majesty. If your royal patronage aids me I can transcend him in poetry, for grass grows only with rain and poetry with the generosity of kings.(1) O you who cure the disease of expectation reward me in proportion to the excellence of my poetry! Today there is many a slave around you busy day and night in your service and one of the humblest am I. When a hundred years have passed from now, the world will be another world, and the people who will read the praises of the king will know the worth of my service. You shall remain while I shall be no more: I shall be gone but my service shall endure.....One day your majesty was pleased to be kind to your slave, and you said to me: 'O admirer

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(1)

of our kingdom, be happy that you have been exalted by our rule and have been favoured by us. We shall give you so many treasures that you shall be free from all concern and care.' With that fair promise, this humble slave has been content till now. Four years have elapsed since - may your glory last for a hundred years - and so I remind you of that promise, for perchance you have forgotten it, although I know that a promise from one like you cannot but be fulfilled. Through your grace hundreds of your slaves have soared to the skies - let me be one of those slaves."(1)

'Alâuddin, it would seem, insisted on the poet attending the court regularly and discharging the duties that his office entailed upon him. This was, however, not very agreeable to Khusrau, who had under the previous patrons been allowed to live a life of comparative freedom and ease, presenting himself only at the pleasant wine-parties where poets and musicians gathered and sang. In another long poem addressed to the king he says:

"If day and night I attend not the court of your majesty to perform my humble services, it matters little, for when a hundred crowned heads bow before you daily you can easily forgive the absence of a beggar. I say that not because I know not how to serve, for I can be at your service day and night, morning and evening: I can display the magic of my poetry in the assembly and can play with

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(1) This mesnevi begins on fol. 815b. (I.O. MS. 1187) and is entitled an 'arḍ-i-hal' or application addressed to the great Khâqan. Beg: بر رای خدایگان عالم ؛ خاقانِ سپه کشِ معظم

the sword at the time of battle, and even if arrows and spears rain from the moon[1] I would not turn away from your august saddle-strap. But I have to string pearls and to say subtle things with a fresh imagination. Now I turn to the flowing spring and now I betake myself to a green meadow, and before I can find a pearl worthy of your ear all my blood has to boil like a river. Even if that pearl is not worthy of you, it suits the ear of your slave, and I keep away from the circle of your service lest my pearl be lost in the crowd. If I stand before you day and night how can my mind produce poetry? Without thought surely my poetry will be but frivolous and cursory".....After stressing the importance of poetry and of the service rendered to kings by poets, he mentions how the former kings rewarded poets, how Rudagî got a 'man' of gold for every fine verse and how Khâqânî had screens of 'aksûn',[2] carpets of satin,[3] pearl-studded musical instruments and wine-flagons,[4] and Greek and Chinese slaves that served him with gold plates and ruby dishes.[5] He then says: "I have not cast my lot in poetry[6] to secure favours from the king, for I am not of those greedy persons who lose their honour in their covetousness. Whether my reward be large or small, I am happy, and shall be content even if it is neither small nor large. If by your grace

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(1) i.e. from the sky.

(2) A silk stuff of black colour.

(3) Atlas.

(4) The original has Sazhâ-i-Nishât, "the implements of pleasure".

(5) Evidently an exaggeration. زر طشت و از لعل رخشنده طاس
A 'tas' of shining rubies is not so easy to possess.

(6) نه من زان نمگندم بآن کوچه رخش ۔۔۔ کہ یابم ز بخشایش شاہ بخش : Literally "I have not led my horse to that alley, etc."

you lift me up, my poetry shall rise to the skies, but if you never think of me - well what does a king care if a beggar dies. I am content with my poverty and humble solitude: my trust is in God who will give me my bread..... But it is a pity that the whole world is so happy and a poet like me should starve thus.(1) I am like a bird who has just learnt to sing and its tongue has been tied and its throat sewn up. The wealth of poetry that I scatter about is certainly incommensurate with my wages, and yet how many bright pearls still lie concealed in my mind. Had I been born in Rayy or in Rûm(2) even my thorny bushes would have appeared like soft wax trees, and every one hearing my poetry would have been eager to see me saying to himself: My God! how does that wizard look who has taken such trouble in producing this magical poetry! But now even my flowers produce only vinegar,(3) dark and unpleasant of smell. A pearl is precious for every finger cannot reach it, while water that is the essence of life is cheap on account of its abundance. O mighty King! do not blame me thus,(4) for in my art I have no peer and even if my service to you is not worthy of securing your patronage, during the few months that I have passed in your presence I have laid before you such treasures that Khidr will continue giving you the water of immortality as long as the dark colour of letters remains. When a poet wets the point of his pen he performs

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(1) Literally "such a livelihood for a poet like me!"
درلیغا جهان رامرادی چنین ؛ چومن جادوی را کشادی چنین

(2) A very favourite combination with Khusrau. Curiously enough Elliot almost invariably misreads the names as Râi and Râm. See, for instance, iii. 556, etc.

(3) Khalla Khîz. Khalla is apparently used here for Khall - date-juice or sour dates.
ولی هست ریحان من خلّه خیز ؛ که رنگش سیاه و خوانی و بوئی تیز ؛

(4) This shows that the king reprimanded him for his absence from court.

the service of two hundred years in one moment. Do not think lightly of poets' work, for each of their sweet words spells a life. Of what value is the pure gold to you when after your death it would no longer be of any service? You should buy an eternal life with gold so that your renown may always live....."(1)

Khusrau complains elsewhere also of this compulsion to attend the court which, as he says, left him no time for attending to his art. In a characteristically outspoken and frank passage at the conclusion of his mesnevi Majnûn-o-Leyla, he compares his lot to that of Nizâmî who had, he asserts, no other occupation except writing poetry. "But poor I," he continues, "needy and confused, have always my brain boiling like a cauldron. All night till day-break and from morn till eve I find no respite from my worries. For the sake of my selfish spirit(2) I have to stand on my feet before a man like myself. As long as my blood mounts not from my foot to my head no one washes my hands with his water. The wages which they give me they think to be a favour and all my labour is ignored, as an ass, who carries loads of fodder in a sad plight is given some oats with a bad grace."(3)

But if Khusrau suffered some slight inconvenience and hardship during 'Alâuddin's reign, he could bear it more calmly and philosophically and with greater patience and

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(1) Literally 'the key to renown may not be lost'. The poem, in mesnevi form, begins: ایں نظم عزیز کیست کہ شہنامۂ منست ؛ on fol. 817b (I.O. MS. 1187) and opens with a description of 'Alauddin's exploits. Khusrau calls it his Shahnameh.

(2) Nafs-i-Khûd-râi.

(3) Majnûn-o-Leyla (Nawalkishore p. 64). Hands are washed before meals. The poet means that no one invites him to dine.

resignation for he had now entered upon a new phase in his life. In the year 71 he became a disciple of the famous saint of Delhi, Nizâmuddin Auliya, whom he had known from his early youth[1] and for whom he had always had a great regard, and thus started his career as a full-fledged sufi. Mohammad ibn Ahmed ibn Ali al-Bokhari Nizâmuddin Auliya, one of the most prominent and revered saints of the Chishtiya sect and known by the title of Sultân-ul-Auliya (the Sultan of saints), was a native of Badaon where he was born in the year 634 H. His grandfather Khwaja 'Alî had migrated from Bokhara[2] to India where he first settled at Lahore and later at Badaon, so that the sheikh, like his favourite disciple, Khusrau, was of a Turkish origin. His father died when he was only five years old and thence-forward he was left to the care of his mother Bibi Zuleykha, a pious and virtuous lady from whom he imbibed his great love for things spiritual. Mother and son soon after moved from Badaon to Delhi and settled down in poor lodgings beneath a mosque leading a life of great indigence and hardship. Nizâmuddin, however, did not neglect his early studies and becoming a pupil of Shamsuddîn Khwârizmi, a great scholar of the day who was later appointed to the high post of a minister by Balban,[3] he acquired considerable

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(1) According to some biographers, Khusrau became a disciple of the Sheikh when he was only eight years of age. This is not correct, but he knew the Sheikh from an early age, as the latter had stayed for some time in the house of Râwat-'Arḍ, the grandfather of the poet. (Cf. Prof. Habib, p. 37.)

(2) Firishta gives his father's name as Ahmed b. Dâniyâl and says that he came from Glaznîn. But see Amir Khurd's 'Akhbâr-ul-Akhyâr.'

(3) He received the title of Shamsul-Mulk. A contemporary poet says: شمسا کنون بکام دل دوستان سندی ؛ فرماندہ ممالک ہندوستان سندی

Amîr Khurd makes no mention of Kamâluddin Zâhid who is said by some authorities to have been a teacher of Nizamuddin Auloya. (See Prof. Habib, p. 27.)

proficiency in esoteric and exoteric[1] sciences before the age of twelve. One of his neighbours was Najîbuddin al-Mutawakkil, the brother of Sheikh Farîduddin of Ajodhan[2] and Nizâmuddin often frequented his house. There came to al-Mutawakkil's house one day a qawwâl, Abû Bakr, by name, from Multan who had visited on his way to Delhi the monastery of Sheikh Farîd, and who related all he had seen there. The young sufi listened with rapt attention and was so impressed by the account of Khwaja Farîd's piety and saintliness that he at once made up his mind to go to Ajodhan and become a disciple of the saint.[3]

Nizâmuddin remained with Khwaja Farîd for several years and served his master with great zeal and devotion, thereby winning his special favour, so that when he had completed his training the master gave him a robe and a carpet with his blessings and sent him to Delhi. Delhi, as the capital of Hindustan, had become a haunt of men of all classes and types and was not free of those vices and crimes which crop up in big cities. Nizâmuddin hesitated a long time before he finally decided to settle in that city. It was, he thought, noble to live the life of a hermit and recluse away from the noise and bustle of cities - away from temptation and vice, but it was nobler to live with the people and for the people, to remain pure and unsullied in an atmosphere corrupt with sin and to strive to lead the erring souls to truth and

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(1) Zâhiriyya and Bâtiniyya:

(2) The modern Pâk-Pattan in the Punjab.

(3) Khwaja Farîd Ganjishakar was the disciple and successor of Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyâr Kâki, a contemporary of Iltutmish, and the second head of the Chishtiya sect in India, the first being Khwaja Mu'inuddin of Ajmer. The originator of the sect is said to be Khwaja Abu Ahmed Abdal of Chisht. (Vide Castes and Tribes of the Punjab (V.I. p. 519 seq.); cf. also Firishta II. 375.

virtue by the light of his own piety. He selected for his abode a spot about miles from the city in a village called Ghiyaspur[1] and his master, Khwaja Farîd, before his death, appointed him his successor in preference to his own sons.[2] The first few years of his career as a teacher and guide passed in great poverty, but soon his fame spread far and near. In the reign of ʿAlâuddin his disciples numbered thousands, and his monastery was always crowded with darweshes who found food and shelter there. Barni, writing of this period, says: The Sheikh-ul-Islâm, Nizâmuddin, had opened wide the door of a universal discipleshood and bestowed robes and forgiveness on the sinners admitting them to his tutelage. To the elite, as well as to the multitude, to the rich, the poor, the nobles, the paupers, the scholarly, the ignorant, the gentle, the rough, the citizens, the peasants, the warriors, the freemen and the slaves, he gave the four-cornered cap, the 'miswâk' of purification with his blessings.....All people, believing in him, tried to emulate him in devotion and virtue. Men and women, young and old, low and mean, servants and slaves, and even small boys had begun to offer their prayers regularly.....Rich and benevolent persons had constructed in several pleasant spots between the city and Ghiyâspur terraces with thatched roofs and had wells dug there. The terraces were supplied with large jars full of water, clay jugs[3] and mats, and

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(1) Kaiḳobâd built his New Palace near this place (at Kiloghari) and a city sprung up there. But ʿAlâuddin again shifted his residence from Kiloghari to Siri.

(2) A split, however, occurred, and while Nizâmuddin was in Delhi, Khwaja Farîd's nephew, ʿAlâuddin Sâbir, founded a rival order (Sâbiriya) at Piran Kalyar. (See Castes and Tribes of the Punjab.)

(3) Âftâba (Hind: lota) a vessel with a curved spout.

keepers and reciters were posted there so that people coming from or going to the monastery of the Sheikh may not be inconvenienced in making their ablutions at prayer times. In each of these terraces one saw crowds of people offering prayers. Perpetration or talk of crime had declined among the people, and they talked mostly of religious things(1).... So far had the spirit of piety and devotion progressed that even in the royal palace several nobles, 'silâhdârs', scribes, soldiers and slaves who had become disciples of the Sheikh performed the 'châsht' and 'ishrâq'(2) prayers and fasted on 'ayyâm-i-baiḍ'(3) and the tenth of Muharram. There was no quarter in the city where after twenty days or a month there was no gathering of the pious listening to sufistic music and weeping in ecstasy.....Sultan 'Alâuddin himself, with all his family, had great faith in the Sheikh(4) and the hearts of all classes of people were inclined towards virtue and piety. Never did the name of wine and women, crime and sin, gambling or other vile practices, profane the lips of people during the latter portion of 'Alâuddin's reign. Most of the students, nobles and great men who attended upon the Sheikh were seen to be busy in the study of books on Sufism or the Islamic law. Books like Ihyâ-ul-'Ulûm, its translation, 'Awârif, Kashful-Mahjûb, Quwwat-ul-Qulûb, the commentary of Ta'arruf, Risâla-i-Qushairî, Irshâd-ul-'Ibâd, Maktûbât of 'Ayn-ul-Quḍât, Lawâyih

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(1) I merely paraphrase here omitting several words.

(2) Châsht or tahajjud: prayers in the last part of the night before the 'fajr' or morning prayers. Ishrâq is the prayer after the morning prayers. Both of them are optional and performed only by the very devout.

(3) The 13th, 14th and 15th of every month.

(4) See infra.

and Lawâmi' of Qâḍî Ḥamîduddin Nagauri, and the Fawâid-ul-Fuâd of Amir Hasan found eager purchasers, and people generally inquired at the booksellers' for books on Sufism and divinity.(1) No turban was seen without a 'miswâk'(2) or comb hanging from it, and leather jugs and basins had become dear owing to large numbers of Sufi buyers....."(3)

Nizâmuddin Auliya, a man of singular piety and learning, who never married and never disgraced the mantle of Khwaja Qutub that had descended on his shoulders after the death of Khwaja Farîd, was not a dry ascetic. His days passed in fasting, prayers and teaching and his nights in long vigils with only brief snatches of sleep. When his disciples met him in the morning they found his face lit up with a strange ecstatic glow and his eyes tinged with a soft pink, so that Khusrau is once said to have addressed him with the following well-known verse: "You look sleepless and tired, in whose embrace did you pass the night, for your drowsy eyes have still traces of tipsiness?"(4) Yet he was of a pleasant and genial nature, loved to meet and talk with people of all classes, possessed a refined taste for poetry(5) and was extremely fond of

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(1) Haqâiq, literally 'Truths'.

(2) Tooth-brush. A twig of some tree like Tamarisk, used as a tooth-brush.

(3) Darweshes carry about these things with them in their wanderings as they are light and portable. Barni p.343 seq.

(4) تو شبینہ می نمائی بہ برکہ بودی امشب ؟ کہ ہنوز چشم مستت اثر خمار دارد ؟

This is the usual reading. Cf., however, I.O. MS.1187. fol. 571, in the ghazel beg: مست نورسیدہ ات ہوس شکار دارد

Where the reading of the first line is Shabîna and Shabâna, both mean the same thing, viz: anything kept over-night; nocturnal; tipsy and drowsy, after a night of revelry.

(5) He could himself compose a line or two. See infra for his verses in praise of Khusrau.

music. On the fifth of Muharram annually the 'urs' of Khwaja Farid was celebrated at his monastery and people came from far and near to listen to the songs of the skilled qawwâls that enlivened the assembly. His disciples danced in rapture on hearing the ghazels of Khusrau, Hasan and Sa'dî that were recited to the accompaniment of drums or timbrils.(1) Such a man could not but appreciate the talents of the poet, and so it was with real affection and genuine pleasure that the saint received Khusrau when he called upon him to enrol himself in the growing throng of his disciples. "A Turk has come to see us," he said to his servant, "show him in." "Welcome and greetings!" he said to Khusrau as the latter entered, and showed him great favour bestowing upon him a 'barani' (upper coat ?) and a four-cornered cap (کلاہ چہار ترکی).(2)

The saint soon conceived a strong liking for Khusrau. He gave him the title of Turkullah and is said to have remarked: "I hope on the Day of Judgment to be expunged of all blame by the fire that burns in the heart of this Turk."(3) Great attachment grew up between master and pupil and Khusrau was one of the most regular attendants at the monastery. Other disciples sought Khusrau's aid to obtain favours from the saint, and Khusrau was always

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(1) Simâ' or listening to music is permissible among the Sufis of the Chishtiya sect, but mazâmîr or musical instruments, particularly of the flute type, are banned. For a characteristic statement about the legality of Simâ', see Târîkh-i-Firoz Shahi, Bib. Ind. Fasc. I., p. 85, where Jamâluddin Hânswi, a contemporary of Khusrau and a disciple of Nizâmuddin. Auliya says:

تا حکم سماع را بدانی درحال ؛ در حرمت وحلتش سخن گفت جمال
اصحاب نفوس را حرام است حرام ؛ ارباب قلوب را حلالست حلال

On p. 80 of Afzal-ul-Fawâid, see a description of one of these urses.

(2) Afzal-ul-fawâid.

(3) See Daulat Shah, p. 239; Firishta V. 2, p. 402 seq.

ready to help them. He was still a courtier and so formed a link between the king, princes and nobles on one side and his pious master in his retreat at Ghiyâspur on the other, narrating to the Sheikh all the latest developments at the court, for although he never meddled in political affairs, Nizâmuddin could not but have a keen interest in them. Many of the nobles were his disciples, and Khizr Khan himself had entered their ranks.(1) The king, too, in spite of all his scepticism and want of interest in things religious or spiritual, had great esteem for him and sought his moral aid in times of political and military stress.(2)

Many stories are told about Khusrau and his master. It is said that the poet saw Khidr in a dream and asked him for a drop of his salyva that could impart wonderful sweetness and eloquence to his poetry and warrant him an eternal fame. "That gift," replied Khiḍr, "I have already bestowed on Saʿdî." The poet much dejected went to his teacher and related the occurrence, whereupon the saint dropped into his mouth his own salyva which turned out to be as efficacious and potent as that of the old man, Khiḍr. According to another and a more acceptable version, the saint took out from under his bedstead a dish full of sweets

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(1) Khizr Khan was the heir-apparent. Khusrau, alluding to this, says: "Khiḍr grasped his (the saint's) hand and Khizr Khan his feet." خضر دستش گرفت وخضر خان پای؛

According to Firishta, the monastery, in which the saint lies buried, was built by this prince.

(2) See Firishta, V, 2, p. 391 seq. Qarâbeg, the great favourite of ʿAlâuddin, who was a disciple of the saint, was once asked by ʿAlâuddin to take to the Sheikh two lacs of Tangahs from him. When Malik Kâfûr was on an expedition in Deccan, ʿAlâuddin received no news from him for a long time and sent Qarâbeg and Qazi Mughithuddin to Nizâmuddin Auliya requesting him to use his spiritual powers in lifting the veil that hung upon the fate of the Islamic army. See Barni p. 330.

and scattered it over the poet's head, so that a sweetness, strange and supernatural, crept into his poetry.

Be it as it may, the fact is that, although the poet had achieved the highest perfection in his poetry long before he became a disciple of the saint, his association with him gave it a new strength and vigour, imparted to it that fire and glow which are almost divine and which bring a poet very close to the level of a prophet. Henceforth his heart was set on things beyond sordid worldly intrigues and ambitions, and, although he still continued to sing the praises of princes, all his serious thoughts dwelt in the realm of spiritual bliss and ecstasy. "Happy the hour," he sings, "when with a firm belief I grasped the hand of that hand-grasper, for the hand of that king becoming a boat laid open to me the nine oceans (of connoissance). From him I found the salyva that has given such a lustre and freshness to my poetry.(1) Even Khidr seeks the sweet water that I have got from him and that keeps me alive. If I drop two drops of this water into my ink-pot, they will be like the water of life in the dark well, and when one of those drops I take out with my pen I would make a river flow abroad. These verses are like oceans, yet they cannot circumvent the virtues of my teacher, and I can scarcely raise my head for shame at offering to him only what I have got from him."(2)

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(1) It is probably this verse (من از وی لعاب دہن یافتم ؛ کہ زیں گونہ آب دہن یافتم) that has given birth to the story narrated above. Khusrau, of course, is speaking metaphorically here. The verses occur in Nuh Sipihr (Introduction in praise of Nizamuddin Auliya, beg:

خوشش آنم کہ من زا عتقاد ضمیر ؛
گرفتم بحق دستِ آن دستگیر ؛

(2) ولی زیں حجالت نیارم بروئے کہ ہیچم ازان اوفی نثارم برو

Nothing can exceed the poet's enthusiasm and admiration for his 'pîr'. All his works, since the time he became his disciple, are preceded by his praises,(1) with usual exaggerations: "The noble and exalted Sheikh," he says, "to whose far-reaching sight the treasures of the two worlds are but like an atom as compared with the precious treasure of poverty! He who becomes his disciple is dragged out of the mire of self ( ) as a cup is drawn from the wine (pitcher). He whose tongue is trained by him, has a sword that splits open the pen of fate, and every sick person for whom he prays is spared affectionately by death.....The world that is a hell full of fire is like the knife of Ishmael for his disciples."(2)

The saint, too, on his side had the highest regard for the great poet who in spite of his constant association with nobles and princes was at heart as pure and virtuous a darwesh as any of his other disciples. Khusrau's ready humour, his lively nature and his versatile genius made him a pleasant companion. "I get tired of every one," the saint once said to Khusrau, "but I never get tired of you."(3) He once composed the following quatrain in admiration of his pupil:

"Khusrau, like whom few men have written poetry or prose, is certainly the king of poesy's realm. He is our Khusrau, not Nâsir Khusrau, and God himself is the helper

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(1) See Nastul-Hayât; Ghurratul Kamâl Baqîya-i-Naqîya (fol. 336b., 1187, a long ode entitled Subhat-ul-Awrâd and beg: زعین معنی اگر بنیشن کسی است مدام Nihâyat-ul-Kamâl (B.M. MS. 35,807, fol. 442b, the preface, and fol. 446b, the ode entitled نابت النفت).

(2) Nihâyat (quoted above). The knife became blunt as Abraham tried to slaughter his son Ishmael with it.

(3) Haft Iqlîm of Amîn Râzî (I.O. MS. under Delhi - Khusrau) on the authority of Afzal-ul-Fawâid.

of our Khusrau."(1)

When Khusrau presented to the Sheikh part of the MS. of his work Afzal-ul-Fawâ'id,(2) the Sheikh took the leaves in his hands and studied them, saying frequently: "You have written well and have named well." He corrected the manuscript here and there and then turning to those around him he said: "It is really creditable for Khusrau to write down so many observations for he is always plunged from head to foot in the ocean of ideas. But God has leavened all the organs of Khusrau's body with wisdom and learning for he swims all day long in the sea of ideas and brings out a hundred thousand pearls." "Whereupon," says Khusrau, "I rose from my place and bowed to the ground, saying: 'All these ideas which come to my mind are due to the blessing of your grace and power, for you train me with your auspicious guidance. God be praised for that.' The Khwajah then gave me his special robe and cap."(3)

The Sheikh's kindness and affection were a source of great strength for the poet in his old age, and helped him to bear with patience the sorrows and bereavements that often beset the declining years of man, and of which Khusrau had his full share. In 698 H. he lost his beloved mother and his younger brother, Qutlugh, in the short space of a

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(1) Ibid. خسرو که به نظم و نثر مثلش کم خاست الخ

Nâsir Khusrau is, of course, the well-known writer, the author of the Safarnâmeh. See Browne: Lit: Hist II. 218 seq.

(2) Literally 'the best of observations or morals', a collection of the sayings of the saint. Amir Hasan wrote a similar book which he named Fawâid-ul-Fuâd.

(3) Afzal-ul-Fawâid, p. 110 seq. Khusrau presented the book on the 27th of Jumâd-ul-Âkhir, 715 H (?). The cap had four corners and was known as kulah-i-chahar tarki or 'taqiya-i-chahâr khânehdâr'. The four corners symbolised the law (شریعت), the path (طریقت), gnosticism (معرفت) and verity or truth (حقیقت). See Afzal-ul-fawâid, p. 1 seq.

week and was almost overwhelmed by his grief. The love of his mother and her affectionate solicitude for her son were as great as those of her son for her. She had been all in all to Khusrau ever since he was left an orphan of seven by his father and her motherly advice was always sought and obeyed by him. In the touching verses, at the close of his poem, Majnûn-o-Leyla, he says: "Thou hast gone and strength has left my body; I succumb for the support is gone.....When thy lips could talk, thy advice led me to my welfare; but today the bond of love is sundered - and yet thy silence guides me, for if I pay heed and remain sensible I can still hear thy voice."(1)

Meanwhile his patron, 'Alâuddin, the "second Alexandar" was also fast approaching his end. He contracted a disease(2) that confined him to his bed. Misfortunes seemed to have conspired to make his last days bitter. His sons became truculent and refractory, and his wives were always busy in arranging marriages of his numerous progeny and giving big feasts, while the king lay ignored and forgotten. Alp Khan, his brother-in-law, the governor of Gujrat, and Malik Kâfûr were hatching their own designs and plans and nobody seemed to have any sympathy for him.(3) The rivalry between Alp Khan and Kafur ended in the murder of the former and the exile of Khizr Khan to Amroha that in their turn led to a terrible rising in Gujrat. Khizr Khan

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(1) The whole passage addressed to his dead mother and brother is a fine specimen of Khusrau's simple and touching style that he often employed in his elegies. See Majnûn-o-Leyla (Nawalkishore 1880, p. 60 seq.)

(2) According to several historians it was dropsy.

(3) See Barni, p. 368.

had vowed to visit the tombs of various saints if his father recovered and hearing of an improvement in his condition he started on his pilgrimage and at the end of it came to Delhi without the king's permission.(1)

Kâfûr at once took advantage of this act of insubordination to secure an order from the king disinheriting Khizr Khan in favour of a younger son, Shihâbuddin, and exiling him to the fortress of Gwaliyar. "God be exalted!" says Khusrau, "I know not what his (ʿAlâuddin's) heart was like, that such a pearl was to him but as dust. Such an ocean-like drop that had trickled from him, he cast away like a drop of sweat from the brow. His patience was so wonderful that he did not lose heart as his life departed. His beloved son was disappearing from his eye, but he kept his tears back.(2) ʿAlâuddin died soon after.(3) His end was hastened probably by poison administered to him by Malik Kâfûr,(4) who now became the virtual ruler of the vast kingdom of ʿAlâuddin having constituted himself the guardian of the infant prince, Shihâbuddin.

Almost the first act of Kâfûr after ʿAlâuddin's death was his brutal treatment of Khizr Khan.

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(1) Khusrau describes all these events in his Khizar Khan-o-Duwalrani. According to him, Khizr Khan suffered these misfortunes for slighting his pir Nizamuddin Aliya. He went to visit a sanctuary in Hatnâpur, but did not visit his monastery. He had, moreover, he adds, erred from the path of virtue and had become pleasure loving and profligate, so that thousands of tempting beauties accompanied him even on his pilgrimage.
(See I.O. MS. 1187; fol. 670 seq.)

بدستش طرهٔ سیمین عذاران ؛ چو سبحه در کف پرهیزگاران ؛ چو برسم زیارتگاه میرفت
هزاران دلبرش همراه میرفت ؛

(2) ʿAshîqa (I.O. MS. 1187, fol. 676).

(3) Khusrau gives the date as the 7th of Shawwâl, 715 H.

(4) See Barni. The fact that Khusrau calls him Shâh-i-Shahîd (the martyr-Shah) would also suggest that Alauddin was actually murdered. (See Nuh Sipihr. IVth, fol. 68, I.O. MS.).

He had bound himself by the most sacred oaths before his master not to harm the disinherited and unfortunate prince(1) but hardly had the king's coffin been lowered into the grave when he threw all promises to the wind(2) and despatched a slave, Sunbul by name, to Gwaliyur with instructions to blind Khizr Khan. This was accomplished and Khizr Khan was thus rendered incapable of any ambitious designs on the throne of his father. Shâdî Khan and Farîd Khan, two other sons of the late king, were also blinded and the mother of Khizr Khan was robbed of all her possessions and confined in a solitary dwelling.

Mubârak Khan, another prince, alone had escaped the terrible needle and to him also Kâfûr now turned his attention. But luckily before he could harm him he was himself killed by some of his most trusted servants who overpowered him in his bedroom in the palace of Hazar-Sutun(3) where he had enjoyed a short sway of about a month. "People watched from a distance," says Khusrau, "the spring of sedition(4) for they beheld eunuchs like Kafur and Sunbul holding court.....but the prayers of the afflicted have an effect. The world made out of the sighs of the oppressed a sword and flung his ominous head off his inauspicious shoulders."(5)

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(1) According to Khusrau he swore by God, the Koran, the Law and the Faith, as well as by salt and sword. (نمک و تیغ). 'Ashîqa (I.O. MS. 1187, fol. 676).

(2) Khusrau says: چون آن ماه را خاک برده در مهد ؛ که گفت آن دشمن مهدی کُش از عهد
('Ashîqa: fol. 134 seq. of I.O. MS. No. 1215). The epithet Mahdi-Kush would also show that Kâfûr killed Alauddin.

(3) Thousand-pillars.

(4) Bahâr-i-fitna, i.e. the outburst of sedition.

(5) 'Ashîqa (I.O. MS. 1215, fol. 135 seq.) Khusrau describes Kâfûr's death as a vengeance brought about by Nizamuddin's spiritual powers, whose disciple (although somewhat errant) Khizr Khan was.

Mubârak Khan, a youth of twenty, now occupied the throne of Delhi with the title of Qutbuddîn. He was proclaimed king on the 24th of Muharram, 716 H. amid universal rejoicing.(1) People welcomed him with great enthusiasm after the stern rule of ʿAlâuddin and the cruel actions of his Bârbek, Malik Kâfûr. Once more they beheld a youthful, generous and pleasant monarch like Kaiḳobâd on the throne, and strove to compensate for the long years of forced abstinence and piety. "Handsome, young musicians flocked to the city. The price of a young slave or a beautiful slave-girl reached as high as 500, 1,000 or even 2,000 tankahs, and although Qutbuddîn kept in force ʿAlâuddin's decree of prohibition, every house was converted into a tavern on account of lack of vigilance and absence of fear, and wine began to be brought to the city from villages under a hundred pretexts and guises."(2)

The new king, however, began his career with an ambitious campaign in the Deccan. Full of youthful vigour "he wanted now to betake himself to Ghaznîn and to place his spear among the enemies of faith, to render the world as narrow as the crease of a cloak for the Chinese of Cathay, and now he wished that, in accord with the desires of his friends, he should destroy the rais of Hindustan, should surprise the masters of elephants and capture a thousand clouds with a drop."(3) He consequently marched out from the capital with a large army and, halting for some time at Talpat, arrived in Deogir, which city assumed

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(1) Nuh Sipihr (I.O. MS. No. fol 15). Cf. Barni, p. 381, who gives the year as 717.

(2) Barni, p. 384.

(3) Nuh Sipihr (I.O. MS. No. fol. 15 seq.) The clouds are elephants and the drop of water the point of the lance or spear.

since then, though only for a short period, the name of Qutbâbâd.(1)

Râghu, the nâ'ib of Râmdeo,(2) was the only Hindu chieftain who offered resistance to the royal army. He retreated to the hills but was hunted out and forced to fight. A large number of his followers were killed, but Râghû escaped and concealed himself in an inaccessible cave.

The king then sent Khusrau Khan, a Hindu convert of a low caste,(3) who, like Malik Kâfûr of old, had won the royal favour more by his beauty and charm than by conspicuous ability, against the country of Tilang. Rudra deva (Laddar deo) had apparently thrown off the yoke placed on his shoulders by Kâfûr and when the Khan approached Arangal he prepared to meet him. He had five thousand horsemen and an infantry 'more numerous than the thorns of the desert'. The musicians in the fortress sang war-like songs and the Brahmins prayed. "But," says Khusrau, "although the Hindus can fight bravely against one another, they cannot fight the Turks, just as two cocks can wage a grim and angry struggle but scurry away at the approach of a

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(1) No historian, strangely enough, has noticed this name. But Khusrau says clearly in his ode in praise of Deogir written in the reign of Mubarak Shah (Nihâyat-ul-Kamâl: B.M. MS. No. 25,807, fol. 459b, seq.)

زہی مبارک سنہری سنہی مجنسۂ بلاد ؛ کہ نام یافت ز قطب سپہر قطب آباد ؛

See also Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings (pp. 179 and 180) where a gold coin of Mubârak Shah's reign is described. The coin struck in 718 bears the legend ضرب هذه السكة بقلعة قطب آباد.
Thomas supposes Ḳotbabâd to be some part of the city of Delhi, but it is certain that the coin was struck at Deogir, then called Qutbâbâd, which was a place of mintage in the time of Qutbuddin's predecessors as well as his successors.

(2) The narrative has Râi Râm, but the poet evidently means Ramdeo of Deogir who was now dead. The naib or minister is said to have had high ambitions of driving out the Mohammadans from the south and establishing a Hindu raj.

(3) He was a Parwârî of Gujrat.

falcon.....In fact it has been the tradition since oldest times in the world that the Hindus should always fall a prey to the Turks."

After preliminary skirmishes in one of which Qutlugh, Ghâzî Kâmil and Timur, the governor of Chanderi, routed Kunda, a powerful warrior and killed Devra Mehta with many a 'sâwant' and râna, the royal army drove in the Hindus to the inner rampart and set fire to one of its gates, and "the fire-worshippers of Rudrâ began killing their god on every side."(2)

Laddar deo was soon closely besieged and the Khan had made all arrangements for storming the fortress,(3) when he sent some messengers with rich presents asking for peace. The presents included pearls, large quantities of pure gold, Hindui silk cloth so fine that "a hundred yards of it could easily be contained in the eye, and through which, on account of its gloss, water as well as war-like missiles could not pierce,"(4) elephants and horses. The Khan accepted the presents and the rajah, having agreed to pay an annual tribute of twenty lakh 'achuas of gold, a hundred elephants and a thousand horses with ten caskets of pearls and other rich presents, and to cede the territory of Badarkot, a

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(1) جہاں را قدیم آمد این رسم و پیشہ ؛ کہ ہندو شود دلیر ترکان ہمیشہ ؛

(2) i.e. quenching the fire. Cf. Elliot who translates: (iii, 559) "The fire-worshippers of Bud were in great alarm and flocked round their idol", while the Original has: تمام ولو یہ آتش پرستان رودرا ؛ بہر سو بکشتند معبود خود را ؛ Rudra is one of the names of Siva.

(3) The contrivances mentioned are: pashib (a platform or escalade) which Elliot wrongly renders by 'mine', arrada, manjaniq, matras, maghribi and kuroha, all different varieties of catapults.

(4) نہ زو بگذرد ہرگز آبی نہ جرمی ؛ نہ چوں قطرۂ آب پیکان عرمی ؛
This is interesting. Was the cloth really weapon-proof?

treaty of peace was concluded.(1) The rajah signed it with the seal of Laddar Mahâdeo(2) and the khan gave him afresh the 'chatr' and other insignia of authority bestowed upon him by ʿAlâuddin. The khan now turned back and joined the king, who had already left Deogir, half-way on the road to Delhi. Great preparations were made in the capital for the reception of the king. "Gold cloth was hung on the walls that glistened like the rays of the sun, and the walls covered with red cloth looked like a boor in a robe of Sahibi.(3) The ground was hidden beneath gold embroidered velvet like a beautiful bride on the eve of her wedding. The ground was sprinkled with the blood of sacrifices. On all sides men and women had crowded to watch the procession and looked at the king's face with a thousand desires. The hearts of the people were happy at the sight of the royal visage and they prayed and blessed.(4) Many a marriage-bond was torn on every side and many a record of crime was washed out."(5)

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(1) The original stipulations made by Khusrau Khan included the cession of five districts, viz: بدرکوت، آلور، کیلاس، لبسودن and کوبر and 60 lac achuas of gold. An alternative reading of the first name is بدرکوب

(2) Laddar Mahâdeo may here be simply the name of the rajah (Laddar, the great deo) or may mean the god Mahadeo or Siva, one of whose names was Rudra. See supra.

(3) Sahibî is a striped silk garment.

(4) Damîdan, literally blowing, means blessing generally by the recitation of some verses from the Koran.

(5) لبسی خط کابین کرشد چاک ہر سو ؛ لبسی نامہائی گناہ پاک ہر سو ؛

The idea is that the king's beauty sundered the marriage bonds, the women all falling in love with him, while the king forgave criminals and liberated prisoners. Cf. Miftahul-futuh, where Khusrau says:

زہر بامی عروسان در نظارہ ؛ رخ شہ دیدہ کابین کردہ پارہ

although کابین is substituted by برقع in one of the MSS.

Qutbuddîn now completed the mosque which he ordered to be built before he started for Deogir. A pillar of red stone was raised in the court-yard of the mosque. "The surface of the stones was rendered so bright that like a mirror one could see one's face in them.....The king could have made the pillar of rubies but he did not want to feed thieves, and if he had it studded with gold and silver it would have become like the palace of Shaddâd.(1) Many a stone is better than pearls, for it conceals and protects while pearls raise trouble. The fortress was then built with baked bricks so closely joined that in their crevices not only a hair, but imagination itself could not pierce without being scratched. "And when the building was ready all other cities offered their tributes of praise to it. Delhi is the 'Dâr-ul-Khilâfah' and all countries are proud of it."(2)

Mubârak Shah had now little else to do. Peace prevailed in the country. The veteran Ghâzî Malik Tughlaq kept the Mongols at bay in the north and the rajahs of the south were submissive. The youthful king passed his time in revelry and jollity, drinking wine and listening to music. Poets and musicians received huge rewards and Khusrau was one of the earliest among the former to win royal favours. He was invited to the court soon after the king's return from Deogir. The king, relates Khusrau, sat

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(1) And so would have savoured of unholy pride. It is difficult to say which particular mosque or pillar the poet is alluding to. Some historians seem to have been misled to ascribe the building of the Qutb pillar to Qutbuddin by a similarity in name. Khusrau evidently is referring to some other pillar.

(2) Khusrau repeatedly calls Qutbuddin, Khalifa in his Nuh Sipihr. He and 'Alâuddin are the only two kings thus designated.

among his courtiers and was discussing the relative merits of old and modern poets, and some praised Sanâ'i while others preferred Sa'dî. The king said that the advent of great poets like Khâqânî, 'Unsurî and Firdausi was due to the generosity of kings, and he continued: "We are not less than they were in ambition.....Have we not sufficient wealth in our treasury? There never had been a king under the sky who could give a reward of ten or twenty lacs of tankahs; the first king to do that was he who was the glory of the world and the faith(1).....But if he gave hundreds to a slave, I give thousands and yet I am not content with this. I aspire to give hundred times more to those who ask for rewards, and to give an elephant's weight of gold from rich and countless treasures to the man who writes well the history of my reign. The way to this generosity was shown to me by my father who used to give gold equal in weight to an elephant and they who are wise know that that is heavier in weight than an elephant-load of gold.....Since I have inherited this magnificent generosity, it does not behove me to give less."

Khusrau undertook the task. He was more than sixty now(2) and had already served three kings. But his poetry and vigorous as ever and he soon completed the wonderful mesnevi, Nuh-sipihr.(3) Whether he actually got an

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(1) He means his father 'Alâuddin. My translation of the passage is rather free. The foregoing narrative is based on the Nuh Sipihr. Elliot translates many passages, but his translation is very faulty. The account of the siege of Warangal, for instance, has been all confused in his translation.

(2) He says himself: مرا عمر کنز سمقدرت بالا گذشت ؛ همه پیش شاهان والا گذشت

(3) Khusrau finished the poem in Jumad I., 718 H. He calls it 'Sultân-Nâmeh': تا بدربار ی لوک خامه ؛ بسته این زیور سلطان نامه

elephant's weight of gold in reward for it, is uncertain,[1] but certainly his remuneration was generous, for he says, addressing Qutbuddîn,[2] "The gift that I have got from a Jem like you, I had rarely obtained from former kings, and the poetry, composed by this old wizard of a poet, is also worthy of the gift. My former writings hardly approach this special poem, for in it I have employed a new method of description and on every page have poured an ocean (of ideas)."

But the genial and pleasant monarch soon contracted evil ways. He became more and more profligate in his habits and at the same time arrogantly proud and cruel. The helpless princes, Khizr Khan and Shâdî Khan, were cruelly murdered in the fortress of Gwaleyar after a conspiracy formed by 'Asaduddîn had been detected.[3] Even the dethroned boy-king, Shihabuddin, was not spared, and Qutbuddîn adopted an attitude of open defiance and insult to the old Sheikh, Nizâmuddin, whom he suspected to be sympathetic towards Khizr Khan. Courtesans and buffoons crowded his palace, and he often amused himself in very original ways. He would dress himself in woman's clothes

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(1) See Ahmed Said Mahrahrawi p. , and Khusro Ki Hindi Kwita, p. ; Shibli II. p. 121., all of whom assert that he did get that amount of gold, but it seems very improbable.

(2) Nuh Sipihr. Introduction.
چنین خنشتی کز توجم یافتم ؛ زشاهان پیشینه کم یافتم

(3) Asaduddin was a cousin (عم زاده) of 'Alâuddin. His plan was to surprise and kill the king while he was returning from his campaign in Deccan. See Firishta I. 125, and Barni 392, who describes him as 'uncle' (عم) of 'Alâuddin. Devaldi was in Gwaliyar with her husband, being his sole comforter and sympathiser, and according to Khusrau, Mubârak was enraged at the refusal of Khizr Khan to hand her over to him. He is, however, silent as to her subsequent fate, though Firishta says she was married to Mubârak after Khizr Khan's death. Elliot, entirely misreading the last portion of the 'Ashîqa, concludes that she was killed with her husband.

and receive his courtiers in that garb while vile women mocked and abused nobles like ʿAin-ul-Mulk Multani, from the roof of the Hazâr-sutûn. Buffoons, stark naked, walked into the midst of nobles and courtiers, soiled their clothes and did other reprehensible and villainous things, while the king looked on and laughed.(1)

He never performed the prayers and broke the fast of Ramaḍân openly. "He opened his tongue to revile Nizâmuddin Auliya and was overtly hostile to him. He prohibited his courtiers to visit Ghiyâthpûr and would often say in fits of drunkenness: 'I shall give a thousand tankahs of gold to him who brings me the head of Nizâmuddin.' One day when he met the Sheikh in the monastery of Sheikh Ziyâuddin Rûmî on the day of his "siyum,"(2) he paid no regard to the Sheikh's sanctity and position and did not return his greeting. In order to humiliate the Sheikh he made Sheikhzâda Jâm, who was a rival of the Sheikh, his great favourite and invited the Sheikh-i-Islam Ruknuddin from Multan to Delhi."(3) He did not stop here, but insisted that he, like other religious heads, should visit

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(1) Barni's words are interesting: (p. 396).

(2) The third day after death, when a ceremony is held. Ziyâuddin Rûmi was the spiritual guide of Mubârak Shah.

(3) Barni p. 396. Cf. also Firishta.

his court at least once a month.(1) He fixed on the last day of the month as the date on which the Sheikh must go to the palace to pay him homage, threatening him of dire consequences if he did not do so. There was great consternation among the disciples of the Sheikh for he was determined to disregard the royal orders, and several of them, including Amir Khusrau's elder brother, ʿIzzuddin ʿAlî Shah, tried hard to persuade him. But the Sheikh was as firm as ever and so the worst was feared by all. Yet before the fatal hour could come Qutbuddîn himself was brutally murdered by his favourite, Khusrau Khan. Khusrau Khan had been planning to compass the king's death and to occupy the throne ever since his expedition to the south. Several of the nobles had warned the king of his evil designs, yet he was so infatuated that he disbelieved them all and even punished them for telling, as he thought, jealous lies against his favourite. His kindness to the Parwârî increased every day and Khusrau Khan managed to gather a large number of his kinsmen around him who frequented the palace freely at all hours, till one night they overpowered and killed the faithful tutor of the king who had often remonstrated with the king about the liberty and power granted to the Parwaris.(2) Khusrau Khan was with the king who hearing the tumult asked him what had happened. "It is

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(1) Mubârak Shah, who had assumed the proud title of Khalîfa, considered himself to be the religious as well as the secular head of his subjects, and as such expected all saints and sheikhs to pay homage to him. He styled himself the 'Viceroy of the God of all the Worlds' (خليفة رب العالمين), a dignity to which even his ambitious father did not make any pretension. See the legends on his coins. (Thomas' Pathan Kings:)

(2) His name was Qâḍi Ziyâuddin and was popularly known as Qâḍi Khan. He had taught the king caligraphy and was honoured and respected by him, and was entrusted with the keys of the palace.

only some horses got loose from the stable," he assured him. But soon his accomplices rushed, swords in hand, into the royal chamber. The king, realising the treachery too late, rushed towards the harem, but Khusrau Khan, pursuing, caught him by his long hair, and in spite of all the king's efforts to free himself he held on, till the parwâris came and severed the king's head. The severed head was thrown down into the lower court where it rolled amongst the feet of the scared royal guards, who all took to flight. A terrible massacre ensued. Even women of the royal household were murdered and insulted. Khusrau Khan at once sent for all the important nobles and they were compelled to submit to his authority and to acknowledge him king.

A reign of terror followed the murder of Qutbuddîn.(1) Khusrau Khan gave important offices, high positions and big titles to his Hindu kinsmen who scoffed at Islam and used copies of the Koran as stools. Our poet, who, inspite of Qutbuddîn's animosity towards his Sheikh, seems to have been on very good terms with the profligate but lovable monarch,(2) kept aloof from the court during this period of turmoil, which, however, did not last long.

Among the most notable and powerful nobles whom Khusrau Khan kept almost like prisoners in Delhi were 'Ain-ul-Mulk

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(1) Khusrau Khan's regime lasted for a little less than five months, while his unfortunate master, Qutbuddin, occupied the throne for four years and four months.

(2) But Khusrau could not help condemning his cold-blooded murder of Khizr Khan and in the concluding portion of the 'Ashiqa, written after Qutbuddin's reign, he calls him cruel (bimihr)

که چون سلطان مبارکشاه بی مهر ز تلخی گشت بر خویشان ترش چهر
صلاح خویش در خونریز شان دید سزاواری به تیغ تیز شان دید الخ

(I.O. MS. 1215, fol. 140b. seq.)

Multânî and Juna Khan, son of Malik Tughlaq, but one night Jûna Khan, eluding the vigilance of Khusrau Khan, fled away to Deopalpur and joined his father, who at once made preparations to march on Delhi and to rid her of the foul presence of Khusrau Khan. He was joined by a well-equipped army from Multan under Malik Bahrâm, and, advancing from Deopâlpur, routed at Sarsuti an army, sent by Khusrau Khan under the command of his brother, Khan-i-Khanân. Khusrau Khan was now struck with panic, for the veteran malik advanced fast towards the capital. He began to distribute gold right and left. All his soldiers were given two or even three years' pay in advance and large sums were paid to all the holy personages, including Nizâmuddin Auliya, to pray for his success.(1) But he could not elude nemesis. He took up his position outside the city near the 'Alâi tank and awaited the arrival of Tughlaq. 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multani left him on the eve of the battle which could have only one result, for it was impossible for Khusrau Khan and his half-hearted, inexperienced companions to withstand the onslaught of the malik whose whole life had passed in fighting the sturdy Mongols and whose soldiers were all tried and faithful. In spite of the gallant fight of Shâista Khan and Malik Talîgha of Nagor(2) and Khusrau Khan's own desperate and determined stand, the forces of Delhi were soon defeated. Khusrau Khan, fleeing, took

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(1) Nizâmuddin Auliya, like most of the other Sheikhs, accepted the money, but, as Barni says, they all prayed for the success of Islam, saying: "O God, help him who helps the faith of Muhammad on whom be peace and blessing." Their prayers were thus really meant for the success of Malik Tughlaq.

(2) The only two able generals who remained faithful to him.

refuge in the tomb of his late patron and master, Malik Shâdî, but was captured and put to death, and thus on the first of Shaʿbân, 721 H., Malik Tughlaq entered Delhi as the champion and avenger of the ʿAlâi family, and as no male member of that doomed family was alive, all the nobles selected him as their king and master, and he ascended the throne of Delhi with the title of Ghiyâthuddîn amidst general applause and relief.

Khusrau greeted him enthusiastically. In an elegy on Mubârak Shah written at that time he says: "The sun casts dust on its head every night when it goes down in mourning for that bright sun who lies beneath dust. If a dog has slain the lion do not be astonished for even of old many a fierce lion has fallen a prey to a shamefaced dog. The spirit of Sultan Qutbuddîn, now in heaven, will have for its companions Jesus and Gabriel[1].....The king Ghiyâthuddîn is a second Abu Muslim,[2] who with the strokes of his sword has avenged the blood of the second Haidar. He is the defender of Islam, Tughlaq Shah, whom the sky has evolved after long years of astral revolutions."[3]

Tughlaq Shâh,[4] an extremely pious and virtuous man, soon won the hearts of all his subjects by his simplicity, sincerity and generosity, and restored order and peace throughout the dominions disturbed by the sad events at Delhi.

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(1) Rûhullah and Rûh-ul-amîn, literally 'the spirit (breath) of God and 'the trusted spirit'.

(2) Abû Muslim of Khorasan, the henchman of the Abbasids who, posing as the champion of the Prophet's family, unfurled the black banner of revolt against the Omeyyads in A.D. 747 at Merv. See Nicholson's Lit: Hist: of the Arabs, p. 251 seq.

(3) حامیٔ اسلام تغلقشاه که انجم سالها ؛ چرخ زد تا آسمان زینگونه دین برور کشید

(4) Khusrau has more than one ode in praise of this prince. See Nihâyat-ul-Kamâl (B.M. MS. 25,807) fol. 460b. and 461, odes beg: و هر مژدهٔ مراد که از آسمان رسید ، خطی کر سبزه بر لب آب روان کشید
باز باغ آرایشی از سر گرفت

He appointed his eldest son, Fakhruddîn Jûna Khan, his heir and bestowed on him a canopy and the title of Ulugh Khan. To his remaining four sons he gave the titles of Bahrâm Khan,(1) Zafar Khan, Mahmûd Khan and Nuṣrat Khan, and strove as far as possible to compensate the members of the ʿAlâi family and their dependants for the disaster that had befallen them.

Ulugh Khan led an expedition to Deogir in 722 H. to quell certain disturbances there and to punish Laddardeo of Warangal who had again become refractory, and Khusrau seems to have accompanied the prince. Deogir, then known as Qutbâbâd,(2) appears to have captured the poet's fancy, and in an ode he describes its charms and amenities at great length. "Wonderful and auspicious city," he says, "the queen of the blessed realm which received the name of Qutbâbâd from the Pivot of the World.(3) When infidelity prevailed here people were oppressed by demons and that is why the ancient deo(4) named it Deogir. Now that it has become the 'egg' of Islam nothing but the noble and divine phoenix of happy augur can take its birth in it. It is no flattery to call it paradise, but I do not call it that, lest it be confounded with the paradise of Shaddâd. The

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(1) See supra.

(2) I adopt the familiar reading of the name. The learned editor of the Camb. Hist. of India (V. III.) prefers Tughluq, the reading given by Ibn-i-Batûta, who he says must have known the correct pronunciation of such names. I think, on the other hand, Ibn-i-Batûta is a very unreliable authority in this respect. What should we think of his reading of Iltutmish as Lilmish?

(3) Qutb-i-ʿÂlâm, i.e. Qutbuddîn. Quṭb is the highest rank of the Sûfi dignitaries.

(4) Div-i-Kuhan. The poet probably means Mahâdeo or the founder of the city.

city was surely destined to become a paradise under Islamic rule, for that is why it has been so carefully decorated.....It is, perchance, hearing of the fame of this city that Cairo has dipped her robe in the nîl(1) and Baghdad has split into two. The air is so pleasant that it produces only joy similar to that promised to men of good deeds in the next world.....How can I describe its fruit? The fruit of all the world is jealous of it.(2) There are the bananas curved like the crescent-moon, and as pleasant as the Eid-day. There is also the mango whose sweetness delights every palate and which looks like a golden shell(3) full of milk and honey, and makes the mouth of the sugar-candy water.....And then there is the wonderful leaf, tambûl, which intoxicates life and heart with its pleasant taste.....It has again so many pearls and precious stones that the ocean and the mines are now unable to produce any more.....The fineness of its cloths is difficult to describe: the skin of the moon removed by the 'executioner-star'(4) would not be so fine. One could compare it to a drop of water if that drop fell, against nature, from the font of the sun.(5) A hundred yards of it can pass through the eye of a needle, so fine is its texture, and yet the point of a steel needle can pierce through it only with

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(1) A play upon the word 'nîl' meaning indigo, the colour of mourning, and being the name of the well-known river in Egypt (the Nile). Baghdad is divided into two by the river Tigris.

(2) The Original has a pun upon the word 'khasta', meaning 'wounded', and the stone in a fruit. جا نده اندرون خسته پیش آن زکشاد ،

(3) Huqqa-i-zar, literally box of gold.

(4) Akhtarî jallâd, the planet mars.

(5) For a drop of ordinary water lacks the glitter and fiery gloss.

difficulty.(1) It is so transparent and light that it looks as if one is wearing no dress at all but has only smeared his body with pure water.....The music is such that each stroke of the plectrum makes Venus cry with jealousy like her own harp.....If I depict its people on the paper the pen of the master(2) would derive inspiration from my painting. Although they are of Hindui origin and so hellites, in point of beauty they are all heavenly and of hourî descent."(3)

Ulugh Khan, however, had to return back unsuccessful from Warangal due to the stout resistance of Laddardeo and also to a panic caused in his army by wild rumours about the death of his father spread by some mischief-mongers(4) in his camp, who were probably tired of fighting and wanted to go back to their homes. They were severely punished on Ulugh Khan's return to Delhi, and the prince after a few months started again for the fortress. It was soon reduced and Laddardeo with his wives and children fell into his hands

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(1) بچشم سوزنی صد گز بگذراند بس لطف ؛ درو جیله خزد لوک سوزن پولاد ؛
Cf: از و بگذرد هم نه آبی نه چربی ؛ نه چون قطرهٔ آب بیگان عرنی
The cloth was called 'deogir' or 'deogiri' and Khusrau mentions it often, and mentions also its superiority to katan, the famous fine cloth.

(2) Indefinitely any master, but it may refer to Mânî or Bihzâd, the famous painters.

(3) Nihâyat-ul-Kamâl (B.M., MS. 25,807, fol. 459b.) The ode is in praise of Ulugh Khan.

(4) Among them was the poet 'Abîd who had come from Persia and delighted in hoodwinking and pooh-poohing Khusrau. He was buried alive in Delhi by order of the king. (Firishta I. p. 131). According to Barni (449) he was crucified alive. See also Badaon I. 222 seq., who says he was trampled to death. According to Ibn Batûtah Ulugh Khan himself encouraged the spread of these rumours. The same view has been adopted by the editor of the Camb. Hist. of India, V. III. But there is no other evidence to show that.

and was sent to Delhi with elephants and other spoils captured by the royal army. Ulugh Khan named Warangal Sultânpur and settling the affairs in the south satisfactorily he returned to Delhi.

Tughlaq Shah treated Khusrau very kindly and the poet was more prosperous in his reign than he had been before.(1) But the king was not on very good terms with Sheikh Nizâmuddin. Almost the first thing Tughlaq Shah did after ascending the throne was to take strong measures to retrieve the large sums that Khusrau Khan had so lavishly distributed among the nobles and saints. The coffers filled by 'Alâuddin had almost been emptied and the new king could not well proceed with the government of the country with an exhausted treasury. Most of the recipients handed back the money which they had kept as a trust, but Nizâmuddin Auliya had spent all he had got in feeding the poor darweshes and beggars that always crowded his monastery and, therefore, could return nothing back.(2) This annoyed the king and he took a dislike for the saint that lasted till his death. The puritan monarch, moreover, looked askance at the rather convivial Simâ'(3) gatherings in the Sheikh's monastery and the rival and jealous Sheikhs, seeing the king's aversion to such things, lost no time in painting the saint's character in the darkest hues. They represented to him that music was absolutely prohibited by the law and that it was the greatest heresy for a pious man to indulge in it. The king

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(1) Firishta I. 132.

(2) Firishta II. 397. According to him the sum received by Nizâmuddin Auliya amounted to five lac tangahs.

(3) Music parties, where songs of mystic love are recited.

thereupon called Nizâmuddin Auliya one day to his presence and asked him to justify his conduct in the presence of divines and scholars. The saint carried himself bravely and successfully through the ordeal, and Tughlaq Shah had to let him go free, although, probably, he was not quite satisfied with the saint's arguments.(1) He was, however, too sensible and generous to persecute a man of Nizâmuddin's reputed piety and sanctity and the Sheikh did not suffer any hardships during his reign.

Tughlaq Shah had a great passion for building(2) and he commenced the foundation of a new city, and constructed a strong fortress in it that acquired the name of Tughlaqâbâd. The fortress that now lies in ruins must have been a magnificent structure when it was built. Khusrau says of it: "Wonderful fortress that raises its head to the moon, for it has been exalted by the ghâzi king, Ghiyâthuddîn, the great monarch whose justice is the architect of the world and the faith. The fortress, named by the king Tughlaqâbâd, is a paradise for the world. Inside it has a tank (?)(3).....whose beauty gives and fosters life and whose sweet water is a fountain of joy. Outside the fortress there is a moat broad like the sea.....In the midst of the fortress is a splendid palace whose brightness renders the crescent full moon. All its walls are painted with gleaming gold and are studded with iridescent gems. The cost of

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(1) Firishta II, 397.

(2) Tughlaq Shah's reign, in fact, saw the evolution of a vigorous style in architecture unknown in India before that time. See Fergusson ii., 215.

(3) The reading in the MS. is doubtful.

(4) Nihâyat-ul-Kamâl (B.M. MS. 25,807, fol. 472 seq.) Cf. Ibni Batuta (Defremery 1877, iii. p. 214), who says: "In the fort was the big palace whose tiles were gilded, and when the sun rose they glittered brightly and flashed so that the eye could not rest on them."

every gem that has been set on them is equal to the income and expenditure of a world."

In 724[1] Khusrau made his third and last journey to the eastern provinces of Lakhnauti and Oudh. Tughlaq Shah, hearing of great mismanagement in that part of the country and receiving numerous complaints from people there, started, with a strong army, from Delhi, leaving the capital in charge of his son, Ulugh Khan; Khusrau, as usual, accompanied him, and stayed there for some months while the king was busy in settling the provinces.

Nâsiruddin of Lakhnauti[2] came to Tirhat and offered his homage to the king. He was confirmed in his position and rank as the governor of Lakhnauti, but the governor of Sunargaon, Bahâdur Khan,[3] who had been refractory, was deposed and disgraced. The rajah of Tirhat was subjugated and the forest in that district cut down to prevent thieves and robbers finding shelter there. Then the king turned back towards Delhi. Some distance from Tughlaqâbâd he separated from the main army and proceeded with rapid marches in order to reach the capital as soon as possible. Little did he know that it was fate that was thus hastening him towards his death. Ulugh Khan, hearing of his father's hasty approach gave orders at once to decorate the city in his honour, but fearing that the arrangements for the reception would not be complete before the king's arrival,

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(1) In the last part of that year, for Firishta says:

(2) Firishta confuses him with Nâsiruddin Bughra Khan, the son of Balban, who was dead long before this. The text of the Riyâdus-Salâtin is also misleading. According to the translator this Nasiruddin was a grandson of Bughra Khan, and a brother of Bahâdur Shah. See also Camb. Hist. of India iii. 132.

(3) He was appointed governor of Bengal by Alauddin but became independent during the reign of Qutbuddin and assumed the title of Bahâdur Shah. See Riyâd-us-Salâtin (Bib. Ind. Text 89 and Trans. p. 90.)

he erected a pavilion about three miles from the city in a place called Afghânpur. The pavilion, built in the short space of two or three days was intended to shelter the king for just one night before his triumphal entry into Tughlaqâbâd. The prince greeted his royal father at Afghânpur and entertained him in the pavilion. Food was set before him and his retinue but Ulugh Khan left the pavilion before the king had finished his meal in order to get ready the elephants which he had brought from Warangal and which he wanted to display to his father. Most of the nobles also rose up with the prince and the king was left with only a few companions. All at once the roof of the pavilion collapsed and the king was buried beneath it with four or five others and expired before he could be extricated from the debris.

The mysterious fall of the pavilion has been the subject of a big controversy and many historians have cast the blame on Ulugh Khan who is alleged to have purposely made the pavilion for getting rid of his father.(1) Ibn-i-Batûta even asserts that the prince showed culpable negligence in taking Tughlaq Shah out of the ruins and delayed the operations of excavating. But there is no evidence to prove the prince guilty of patricide. The contemporary historian, Barni, does not even hint at that, and one cannot help saying with Firishta that, unless one is ready to credit Ulugh Khan with supernatural powers, it was impossible for him to so arrange that the roof should fall

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(1) See Badaoni I. 225; Ibni Batûta (Defremery) iii. p.211 seq. According to the latter the pavilion, constructed mainly of wood, was so arranged that its roof could fall by the tread of elephants on a certain place about it, and was designed by Ahmed bin Ayâs, a skilful geometrician and architect, who later got the title of Khwaja-i-Jahân and became Muhammad Tughlaq's favourite minister.

just at a certain moment - just when he himself was safe out of the pavilion and the king was still in it. It is evident that the fatal event was an accident pure and simple and that the collapse of the roof was due to either faulty construction or to shock caused by a thunderbolt or the heavy tread of the numerous elephants being paraded about the pavilion. Still less credible is the story which ascribes the event to the pious anger of Nizâmuddin Auliya. It is said that Tughlaq Shah, who had always been rather suspicious about him, had sent orders to the saint to leave the city before his arrival there back from Lakhnauti. As the king approached nearer, the saint's disciples requested him to depart from his monastery lest any harm might overtake him. "It is a long way to Delhi yet," was the only reply they could get from him, and so the king met his death before he could reach the city.(1)

Apart from the improbability of such a bitter grudge on the part of the king against the saint, the fact that the saint had been grievously ill months before he died(2) would make the story very unlikely. Seven months before his death, Nizâmuddin Auliya was confined to his bed with a painful malady. He was already ninety-five years old, and knew that the end was approaching. One day he called his old and faithful servant Iqbâl and asked him to distribute at once all the money and grain that arrived in the

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(1) See Firishta II. 398; and Badaoni I. 225. "Hanûz Dihli dûr ast" has, of course, become a proverbial phrase.

(2) Ibni Batuta, in fact, asserts that the saint had died before the king's return to Delhi, and that Tughlaq Shah was offended by Prince Jûna Khan carrying his corpse on his shoulder. (Vide Defremery iii. 211). But we know from more reliable sources that the saint died on 18 Rabi' II., while the king met his death by the fall of the pavilion in the month of Rabi I. See Firishta I. 132, and II. 398; etc. See also Prof. Habib (42 f.n.), who apparently accepts Ibn-i-Batuta's version.

monastery among deserving people, and not to keep back a single piece of money or a grain of corn. He then prepared himself for death and calling his favourite disciples to his bedside bestowed on them robes and appointed them his successors in various parts of the country. His own khirqa, staff, prayer-carpet, rosary and wooden bowl, together with other relics inherited from Farîduddin Ganj-i-Shakar, he gave to Maulana Nasîruddin of Oudh, the Bright Lamp of Delhi, who thus succeeded his master in the metropolis. At sunset, the eighteenth of Rabî' II., the saint gave up the Ghost.

His life had been one long struggle against poverty, against self and against sin, and his guidance led many a wandering sheep to the security of the fold, and even if we do not, as we cannot, believe in all the miracles ascribed to him by his enthusiastic admirers, we cannot help acknowledging his greatness. Prince Ulugh Khan himself carried his body on his shoulder on its journey to the grave(1) and for generations his tomb has been the place of pilgrimage for princes as well as beggars. Living, as he did, in an age full of sudden political changes, cruel murders, wars and intrigues, his name has often been associated with some of the events that occurred in his lifetime and some uncritical historians have not hesitated in casting aspersions on his character. He has been described as an assassin and a head of the thugs - charges which are as groundless as mean. The fact is that his personality and career are the noblest things that catch

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(1) So, at least, asserts Ibni Batûtah (vide Defremery iii. 211), although I am not inclined to place much reliance on his assertion, for he is hopelessly inaccurate in his narration of the historical events of this period.

our imagination in an age not lacking in nobility, chivalry and romance, in spite of all its internecine wars, political upheavals, intrigues and assassinations. While monarchs came and went and dynasties rose and fell, while ambitious princes fought and contested, conspired and planned, and while courtiers flattered and betrayed, the saint stuck to the duty which he had imposed upon himself and carried on his work of spiritual salvation calmly and quietly in his sequestered monastery at Ghiyâspur.(1)

Yet, as we have said above, the doors of his monastery were open to all and no one was turned off disappointed.(2) His disciples included men of all creeds and classes, and what if some of them were thugs? That a class of people like the thugs should have respect and veneration for him does not necessarily mean that he was an accomplice or that he in any way encouraged them in their reprehensible conduct. Criminals and malefactors have always been notoriously superstitious and eager to atone for their crimes by some meritorious deed of piety - a candle lighted on some shrine, flowers strewn on a holy tomb-stone, veneration shown and homage paid to some saint or pîr. What if some of them respected Nizâmuddin Auliya or even if they made him presents out of the money they had acquired by foul and

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(1) The village is now called Nizampur after the saint but the old name Ghiyâspur still survives and has been given to a subdivision of the village. (See a Guide to Nizâmuddin, p. 3.).

(2) Thus Amir Hasan relates how wandering darweshes whom he calls 'jawaliqs', used to frequent the monastery and how one of them once used very improper words before the Sheikh who listened patiently and was very kind to him. (Vide Fawaid-ul-Fuad. B.M. MS. f. e and f. 26).

unlawful means? The Sheikh never questioned. He accepted their homage and their offerings just as he accepted the money given him by the ungrateful traitor, Khusrau Khan. Where's the harm if the money so acquired was spent on poor and needy persons? It was perhaps robbed from some fat and miserly merchant or a tyrannical landlord and was in any case lost to its owner. If a portion of it could be redeemed from the filchers and spent in a good cause no sane person should have any objection.

Nizâmuddin Auliya has also been accused of taking an active, and by no means glorious, part in some of the political events of his time, but such accusations made by irresponsible historians have no weight and can never be accepted as proofs of his guilt by any impartial student of history.

Khusrau, who, as we have seen above, was away in Oudh with the royal army while his master, the Sheikh, lay ill in Delhi, heard of his death only on his arrival in the capital. The sad news of the final and irrevocable separation after years of friendship and love broke the heart of the aged poet. He rent his garments, blackened his face and betook himself to the grave of the Sheikh. According to a pathetic old legend, he recited the following beautiful 'doha' at the grave and fell down in a swoon:

Gorî sowe sej par, mukh par dâre kes,
Chal Khusro ghar âpne, rain bahî sab des.(2)

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(1)

(2) Khusro Kî Hindî Kawîta (Benares 1921) p. 4.

"The fair one lies on the couch with her black tresses scattered on her face: O Khusrau, come home now, for night has fallen all over the world." "My end is now not far off," he is said to have declared, "for the Sheikh had told me that I would not survive him long." And so it was, for he died only a few months after, on Friday night, the 29th of Zulqa'd, 725 H.,(1) and was buried at the foot of his master's grave. It is said Nizamuddin Auliya had bequeathed that he should be buried by his side. "He is the keeper of my secrets,(2) and I shall not set foot in Paradise without him. If it were lawful, I should have instructed you to bury him in the same grave with me so that we two may always remain together."(3) On Amir Khusrau's death, then, his friends wanted to bury him beside his master under the cupola on the latter's grave, but an attendant of the tomb, a Khwajasarâ,(4) objected, saying that the two graves would be confused by people and so the poet was laid to rest outside the cupola.(5) There he lies to this day and his grave has become a place of pilgrimage almost as important as that of his Sheikh, so that he could say in the words of another immortal bard, Hâfiz:

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(1) Firishta II. 403; but the more reliable date, perhaps, is 18th of Shawwâl, because the 'urs is held on this date. See Safînatul-Auliya, p. 100, and Hayât-i-Khusrau.

(2) Sâhib-i-asrâr, meaning a confidant, a secretary.

(3) Two bodies should not be buried in the same grave, according to the Islamic law.

(4) Appointed apparently by Muhammad Tughlaq. A Khwajasarai is generally a eunuch. According to the author of Thamaratul Quds, he was a member of some noble family (از ابنای خی ملوک) and wanted to be buried beside the Sheikh himself. See: A Guide to Nizamuddin by Zafar Hasan, p. 22.

(5) The enclosure containing the poet's tomb is beyond the south wall of the Sheikh's tomb.

Bar sar-i-turbat-i-mâ chûn guzarî himmat khwâh,
Ki ziyâratgah-i-rindân-i-jahân khwâhad bûd.(1)

He had seen many changes and revolutions in his life-time and from his grave, perhaps, he has seen many more. The old Delhi is now a wilderness of ruins, the Red Palace, the Green Pavilion, the palace of a thousand pillars, and the New Palace, the scenes of his poetic successes, are "one with Nineveh and Tyre", and can hardly be traced in the tangle of ruins that stretches for miles outside Delhi - the new Delhi of Shahjahan. The strong citadel of Tughlaq is still there, grand and defiant, but one looks in vain in it for the crystal springs and the golden walls. The saint and his beloved disciple, however, sleep in peace in their sanctuary. There is still a green cover over their graves, still fresh flowers are strewn on them and still the lamp lights the darkness and attracts the moths, and still the qawwâls sing and recite ghazels of divine love at their shrines, while tombs of mighty kings like ʿAlâuddin have disappeared or are but mounds of decaying bricks and plaster. Whether they will rise together and enter Paradise hand in hand on the day of Judgment, nobody can foresee, but certainly they have passed into immortality together and their names shall ever be linked together in the memory of succeeding generations.

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(1) "As you pass by my grave, seek blessing therefrom, for it will become the place of pilgrimage for all the drunkards (i.e. sufis) of the world."

(2) The anniversary (urs) of the saint is celebrated with great pomp and splendour at his shrine on the 17th and 18th of Rabi II., while an equally grand ceremony is held at the tomb of the poet on the 17th and 18th of Shawwâl. The two tombs are looked after by the descendants of the saint's sister who are called 'pirzâdas'.

Strangely enough no building is known to have been erected on the grave of Khusrau till the time of Baber, when Mahdi Khwaja[1] erected an enclosing wall and a marble tablet bearing a chronogram inscription composed by Shihab Muámmâi, whom Firishta calls his teacher.[2] Perhaps this was due to the poet's own wish, or it is possible that the earlier structure was entirely removed and replaced by the present one. The inscription runs as follows:

"There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is his Apostle."

The earth was exalted by the erection of this tablet in the reign of Baber, the ghâzî emperor.

"Mîr (Amir) Khusrau, the king of poesy's realm; that ocean of accomplishment and sea of perfection,

His prose was more pleasant than flowing water and his poetry purer than sweet, limpid waters;

The matchless nightingale of melodious songs and the peerless parrot of sweet speech;

When I placed my head on my knee in thought to compose a chronogram on his death, two chronograms occurred to me: "The Peerless" and "The Parrot of Sweet Speech".

'The tablet on my dust is innocent of any talk of union with the beloved: my innocent ways prove sufficiently the purity of my love.'

'Mahdi Khwâja, the great and glorious Sayyad is verily

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(1) See: A Guide to Nizâmuddin, p. 22. Mahdi Khwaja, son of Musa Khwaja and husband of Baber's sister Khânzâdeh, was an important noble of Baber's court. (Vide Beveridge Babur Nameh. Vol. II. p. 704 and Humayun Nameh p. 298 seq.: Appendix B.)

(2) Shihâb al-Muámmâi, as his pen-name suggests, was specially skilled in composing chronograms. He came to India with Khond-Mir from Hirat in 933 H., and was presented to Baber in Agra. He died in 942 H. (1535 A.D.). See Baburnameh II. 603 and 683.

the founder of this structure. When they asked me the date of its erection, I said: The praiseworthy effort of Mahdi Khwaja.'

'Written by Shihâb Al-Muʾammâʾi of Herat.'

In the year 938 H. (1531-2 A.D.), during the reign of Humayun an inner inclosure was built and paved with marble, and a marble tomb-stone was placed over the grave. Inscriptions of this emperor are found on the north and west walls of the enclosure. Again in the year 969 H. (1561 A.D.) Shihâbuddin Ahmed Khan, a noble of the time of Akbar erected a dome with latticed walls of red sand-stone over the grave. The present tomb,(1) however, was built during the reign of Jahângir in the year 1014 H. (1605-6 A.D.) by Khwaja ʿImâduddîn Hasan. Inscriptions of the founder and of Jahângîr are found on the top of the four walls(2) and on

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(1) M. Zafar Hasan describes the present tomb thus: "The tomb of Amir Khusrau lies in a small enclosure 28'6" by 20'7", surrounded by red sandstone walls of lattice work. The enclosure paved with marble is entered through a door-way on the south, where it is partly roofed with stone slabs. The tomb-chamber, which is oblong in plan, measures 16'2" by 12'6" externally, and is constructed of marble. It is covered by a vaulted roof supported on 12 pillars and crowned by two 'guldastas', one at either end on the north and south. The space between these pillars is closed by latticed screens, the central bay on the south being open and serving as an entrance to the tomb. Outside the tomb chamber to the north stands an inscribed marble slab 7'11" by 1'6½" set up during the reign of the emperor Baber, while on the south lies an uninscribed and unplastered grave said to be that of Shamsuddin Mahru, the son of Amir Khusrau's sister. The marble grave of Khusrau in the centre of the building is enclosed by a marble balustrade. It is ever kept covered by a pall and a cotton canopy hangs over it tied with ropes to the four corners of the chamber."

(2) Two of these inscriptions consist of verses by Khusrau himself about the saint: Thus one is:

ای شربت عاشقی بجا مت ؛ وز دوست زمان زمان بیا مت ؛ شد سلک فرید از تو منظوم ؛
ز السنت کرسد لقب نظا مت ؛ جاوید لقاست بنده خسرو ؛ چو سند بهزار جان غلا مت

and the other, containing a riddle concealing the poet's name, Khusrau, is:

مرا نام نیکوست وخواجه عظیم ؛ دوشین دولام ودوقاف ودوجیم
اگر نام یابی تو زین هر سه ها ؛ بدانم که هستی تو هر دو فهیم ؛

2 shins = 2 x 300 = 600 = Khe
2 lams = 2 x 30 = 60 = Sin
2 qafs = 2 x 100 = 200 = Re
2 jims = 2 x 3 = 6 = Waw

a marble tablet fixed on the northern wall respectively.

In 1280 H. (1663-4 A.D.) a pair of copper-plated door-leaves was presented by one Mianjan bearing an inscription in Urdu and in 1303 H. (1886 A.D.) Muhyiddin Khan of Hyderabad erected a pierced marble balustrade round the grave bearing his name and the date.

Chapter IV.

The Works.

Amir Khusrau was one of those few lucky authors who live long enough to see their fame spread far and wide, to have the satisfaction of their worth being recognised by their contemporaries and to be able to visualise the prospect of an ever increasing popularity and renown down in the depths of time among generations and nations yet unborn. He had, moreover, the good fortune of being able to collect and arrange most of his works during his life-time. This was by no means an easy task, for the poet, a prolific writer, had hardly any leisure for the troublesome task of piecing together scattered odds and ends of poetry that came so profusely and rapidly from his lips that the pen could scarcely keep pace with their swift flow. He had, besides, other duties to perform. As an officer and courtier he had to be a regular attendant at the courts of his patrons some of whom, caring little, perhaps, for poetry, were quite hard task-masters. Yet with an extraordinary genius for poetry Khusrau combined an almost supernatural energy and an indefatigable capacity for work, and he did the work of editing his own compositions with a thoroughness and care that cannot but excite our admiration. All his five dîwâns are preceded by prefaces and introductions, which, in some cases are very long and full, and most of his qasâids are headed by verses descriptive of their contents. He also gives the number of the qasaids in each of his diwans as well as that of the fragments and the dates when they were composed. His mesnevis too are all accompanied by a full description of the occasions on which they were composed, their dates, names and the number of verses in each of them.

The poet, in fact, himself an artist had very definite views as to not only how a book should be edited, but how it should be transcribed, and in Ijâz-i-Khusravî he gives some interesting instructions[1] for the guidance of scribes.

Amîr Khusrau was also helped by his friend, Tâjuddîn Zâhid, and some of other friends in this stupendous task. His friend, Zâhid, indeed, first induced him to arrange and edit the poems of his earliest years and seems to have assisted the poet in his later compilations also. Another friend, 'Alâuddin 'Ali Shah, who like Zâhid appears to have been on very imtimate terms with Khusrau for he is often referred to by the poet as 'my brother',[2] and who was a scribe of great merit, undertook to transcribe his works, while some other friends, notably Shihâbuddin,[3] carefully revised the compilations before Khusrau presented them in their final form to the public, and Khusrau has duly expressed his gratitude to all of them in the course of his writings.[4]

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(1) Ijâz-i-Khusravî V.I. 80-82. Thus he says that the scribe, who must be well-paid, should compare his copy with the original three times for "A correct writing is the light of the eye but its reverse is darkness though it may have been done with the black pupil of the eye." He must employ two inks, red and black, the red to be used for distinguishing the different subjects, chapters, and divisions of the book. He should, moreover, employ a third ink of a colour other than red and black to mark some words or phrases of special import or interest. Dots and vowel marks should be carefully given and in the case of Arabic phrases a commentary may also be added to clear the sense. In conclusion he says: خذ ما كتبت بجد لو تريد ترى ؛ سحراً حلا لاً على القرطاس بالقلم ؛

(2) From this fact and the similarity of the two names 'Alâuddin has been confused with 'Izzuddin by some biographers. See Shibli II. 123; Rieu II. 609 seq. (Re Ghurra) etc.

(3) For Shihâbuddin see infra.

(4) Khusrau's idea of how a dîwân should be arranged can be seen in an ornate passage in the preface to Bakiya Nakiya (I.O. MS. 1187 fol. 324). According to him it should consist of a prose preface, odes (qasaid), tarjiat, mesnevis, rubâis, and certain fragments of harmless satire and pleasantry.

Yet in spite of all this care and labour it is likely that Amir Khusrau could not arrange all his works before his death. Perhaps, he had no time and also, perchance, no inclination to do so, for a man of his character would attach no great value to stray compositions on the manifold subjects that his versatile mind turned to from time to time. It is more likely, again, that some of his works which existed in collected and arranged forms in his time have since been lost, so that there is a strong reason to presume that the works of Amîr Khusrau that are known to us today are by no means complete and that some of his productions have been irretrievably lost. But what is the probable extent of this loss? We shall try to discuss this question briefly here.

There is a considerable amount of discrepancy among various versions given by biographers as to the number and volume of Khusrau's works. The contemporary historian, Barni, is vague on this point. According to Jâmî, one of the oldest authorities on the subject, the number of his works was ninety-nine(1) and he has been followed by other biographers.(2) Daulat Shah asserts that Amîr Khusrau himself has said in the course of his writings that his verses amount to less than five but more than four hundred thousand verses,(3) and Amîn Râzî, in his Haft Iqlîm gives the number of his works as one hundred and ninety-nine. Yet

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(1) See Nafahât-ul-Uns, p. 710. Barni says "he has written a whole library (کتابخانہ) in poetry and prose."

(2) See, for instance, Gulzâr-i-Ibrâhîm, B.M. MS. Add 27,319, f. 262 (در سخن فارسی نوزدہ کتاب تصنیف کردہ ؛); Sprenger's Cat. of Oudh MSS. V.I. 465 seq.; Atashkadah (Bombay 1860, under Delhi), etc. According to Mohammad b. Mubârak 'a library was filled with the books written by him.' (Siyarul Auliya pp. 301-5)

(3) Daulat Shah 240; See also Majâlisul 'Ushshâq or Sultan Husain Mirza (Lucknow A.H. 1314, pp. 130-2)

curiously enough none of these biographers gives a list of these works and if they do, the number does not exceed by any great extent the number of works that are known to us to-day. Regarding the assertion made by Daulat Shah and Firishta about the number of Khusrau's verses, I am not inclined to attach any importance to it. In the first place, in spite of careful study of all his works, I have failed to discover that statement anywhere. Secondly, even supposing Khusrau does make that statement, it is not clear what is meant by the term "bait", which can be interpreted, as Shibli points out, both in the sense of a couplet as well as a single line, and in the latter case the volume of Khusrau's poetry would not be anything very stupendous or extraordinary. Lastly, such a statement by the poet, made presumably some time before his death, cannot be the last word on the extent of his works for we know that he continued writing poetry right up to his last days, and an exact estimate of an author's works can only be made by a second person after his death. Was any attempt made immediately after the poet's demise to collect or arrange his works?

Among the earliest records, we find only two references to any serious endeavour being made in this direction. According to Daulat Shah, Mirza Baysunghar[1] once tried to collect the poet's verses, and after great trouble and effort secured one hundred and twenty thousand verses. But he was informed afterwards of the existence of another two thousand

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(1) Mirza Baysunghar, the son of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza and the grandson of Sultan Abû Said Mirza, was a contemporary of Babar by whom he was driven from Samarkand in A.H. 903. He later occupied Hisâr but in A.H. 905 he was treacherously murdered by Khusrau Shah, an Amir of his father's court. Like Sultan Husain Mirza, he was a great patron of letters. See Rieu 526; Erskine: Hist: of Ind., pp. 92, 142 and Memoirs of Babar, pp.33 and 72; Daulat Shah: 240. See also note on following page.

verses not included in any of the dîwâns, and so realising the impossibility of securing all the verses composed by the poet, Baysunghur gave up the idea. Then we learn that a poet called Saifî collected and edited Amir Khusrau's works and a preface by him is appended to a manuscript of the Kulliyât now in the St. Petersburg library. But we have no idea about the exact date of Saifi or of the scope and value of work done by him.(1)

The fact that very little of the literature of the so-called 'Pathan' period has come down to us, denotes a deplorable lack of enthusiasm for letters among the later Turkish kings and possibly also an equally deplorable apathy on the part of the early moguls. One wonders what became of all the wonderful products of great scholars that, for instance, adorned the reign of 'Alâuddin. Barni and Firishta give long lists of savants living in that age whose activity embraced all branches of knowledge and who wrote both in Persian as well as Arabic. There were jusrists, theologians, philosophers, historians, physicians, musicians, writers and poets of great merit and wide renown that had helped to make Delhi, for a time, actually the literary centre of the Islamic world, if not the religious centre, or Dârul-Khilâfa as its pretentious rulers and their flattering sycophants claimed it to be. According to Khusrau himself every stone in Delhi concealed a gem to literary brilliance(2) and there were scholars and poets whose Arabic

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(1) He is evidently Saifî of Bukhara, surnamed 'Anîdî on account of his proficiency in Persian Prosody. He lived for some time in Herat in the reign of Sultan Husain Mirza under the patronage of Mîr 'Alî Shîr Nawâi. He subsequently remained for three years at Samarkand as preceptor to Baysunghar Mirza and it is probable that it was during this time that he, at the instance of Baysunghar Mirza, undertook the task of editing Khusrau's works, but he apparently could not finish it. He died probably in 909 A.H. See Rieu 525; Baber Namah (Beveridge) 288; Habibus Siyar iii. part 3, p. 593.

(2) Dîbâcha of Wast-ul-hayât.

verses could shame Im-raûl-qais and restore to life Ibni Jinnî.(1) "Behold," he says elsewhere, "what an atmosphere surrounds our land for its air is full of the songs of birds. Artists, poets and singers spring like grass from its dust. There have been good poets and fine singers before this age, no doubt, whose imagination was keen and who knew the subtle points of their art, but the ideas that blossom forth now, rarely appeared in other ages. Each of these poets and singers has a unique style peculiar to himself. The least of them all is humble Khusrau."(2)

Many of the poets mentioned are said to have been 'Sâhib-i-dîwanq', that is, they had already collected and arranged their verses. One of them, Shihâbuddin,(3) who is specially admired by Khusrau and described as a great scholar of Arabic, was consulted on several occasions by the poet. Yet, to-day we not only do not possess any work by him, but also find it difficult to establish his identity.(4) In fact, leaving aside other sciences, the poetry of that period is now known to us almost only through the works of Khusrau and his brilliant contemporary Hasan, and it is fortunate that these works, according to contemporary and

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(1) Dibâchâ of Ghurra.

(2) Nuh Sipihr (IX. Sipihr).

(3) It would appear from Khusrau's remarks about him that he never collected his poems. "If," says Khusrau, "he had the leisure to collect his diwan...etc."

(4) He was probably the same poet whom Barni and Firishta describe as Shihâb-i-Ṣadr Nashîn among the poets of ʿAlâuddin's reign. But nothing more is known about him. The fact that Khusrau often styles him as 'Imâm' would induce one to identify him with Shihabuddin Imam of Nizâmuddin Auliya (vide Siyar-ul-Auliya: Delhi 1302 h., pp. 290-2, but he is not known to have been a poet of great repute. Another person of that name who was a contemporary of Nizâmuddin Auliya was a son of Khwaja Farîd of Ajodhom (Ibid pp. 186-8).

subsequent testimony, represent the best form of it.

When so much, then, of the literature - in fact the bulk of it - of those days has entirely been lost, one may reasonably presume that whatever has been preserved is also not complete; that the works of Khusrau that exist to-day, are by no means all that he produced. Yet at the same time, it is very doubtful if he ever produced as many as ninety-nine works. There is a limit to human industry and literary prolixity. Khusrau, we admit, wrote with a rapidity and ease that is really extraordinary and he continued writing throughout his long life, but still one should think that the works we now possess are quite a respectable monument, both in quality and quantity, of a life of literary labours even like those of Khusrau's, especially when we remember that the poet had so many other occupations and diversions. Khusrau, moreover, in several places in his writings, specifies his works, which can be roughly classified as poetical and prose. Of the former, we know definitely the number of qasâids and fragments[1] in each of the five dîwâns, for Khusrau gives the number usually in the preface or at the conclusion. In the mesnevis too we can verify the number of verses the poet composed as here again the poet supplies the necessary information. Now most of the manuscript copies of these works have preserved with tolerable accuracy the contents outlined by Khusrau and may be said to be complete. The only part of his poetry where we cannot be so sure of a complete preservation are the ghazliyât,[2] for it is a pity

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(1) Muqattaât; short fragmentary poems on diverse topics.

(2) The collections of ghazels found in the I.O. and B.M. manuscripts of Kulliyât under the heading 'Kitâb-ul-ghazliyât' are more or less identical in contents which would suggest that they were collected and arranged by some one at some period after the poet's death. The fact that the collection is not preceded by any introduction by the poet shows that Khusrau himself did not arrange them.

that Khusrau did not attach much importance to those sweet lyrics that have, more than anything else won him the title of the 'Parrot of India', and consequently never took the trouble of arranging them and it was left to the will and fancy of subsequent students to prepare compilations and collections of varying lengths under different names. "I have," he says, "composed many a fresh ghazel, but I did not include them (in this diwan) as a ghazel is but of seven or nine verses and anyone who can scrawl seven or nine verses would strut like a refractory camel and try to compete and vie with me though I am the king of poetry."(1) It is possible then, that some of these poems were lost, but at the same time, it is also possible that some of them, now ascribed to Khusrau, never belonged to him.(2) On the whole, we may safely conclude that the bulk of these poems has also been preserved. The only poetical work which is mentioned by reliable authorities to have been composed by Khusrau and which we do not possess to-day is the Tughlaq Nâmah, the history of the reign of Ghiyathuddin Tughlaqshah. But as that monarch reigned for only about three years, the loss of the Tughlaqnâmah, is perhaps, not so great after all historically, while from a literary point of view, the mesnevi, its language and style, could not be very different from those of his other mesnevis, the Nuh Sipihr, for instance, which he wrote in the reign of Mubârak Shah, the

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(1) Dîbâcha of Ghurra.

(2) Thus a beautiful poem, ascribed to 'Ubaid Zâkâni in B.M. MS. Or. 6303 (vide Browne: Pers. under Tartar Dom. p. 235) and beginning as افتاد بازم در سر سودائی دل باز وارد میلی بجانی is found also in two MSS. of Khusrau's works (B.M. No. Add 21,104., f. 861 and No. 25,807; f.) and the last verse containing the poet's name is given thus:

گر چشم خسرو رویت نه بیند دیگر نه بیند او چشم بینائی

while Browne gives it as چشم عبید ار سیاش نه بیند دیگر نه بیند چشمش بلائی
The words سلطان حسنی are changed to 'Sultân-i-Husnî' in the former.

immediate predecessor of Tughlaq Shah.(1)

Regarding his prose works, again, we know from the preface of Ijâz-i-Khusravî that Khusrau had not written anything in prose before that. He had, of course, written letters and epistles, which he has collected together in that book, but he had produced no connected work in prose. We know also that the poet had no special liking, and also no special aptitude for this branch of literature and therefore it seems extremely unlikely that Khusrau could have composed much more than that stupendous work, Ijâz-i-Khusravî, and the two smaller works Tarîkh-i-Alâ'î or Khazâin-ul-futûh and Afzal-ul-fawâ'id in the short space of about fifteen years.

The only other subject, perhaps, to which Khusrau could be expected to have turned his prolific pen is music, and one is easily induced to believe that he wrote, as some biographers assert, a treatise on that fascinating science.(2) If he did really write such a treatise, it is very unfortunate that it has not come down to us, for a book on that subject would have supplied very valuable information on the development of Indian music and especially on the transition period that commenced in those days by the intermixture of Persian and Indian systems which, according to tradition, Khusrau did much to bring about. But here again we can be sure that the poet's writings, if any, did not amount to any big or monumental work. In an interesting fragment descriptive of the poet's contest with a musician regarding the comparative excellence of the two sciences,

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(1) According to Hâji Khalifa (Flugel II. 321) the poem contained three thousand baits.

(2) Thus Khushgo: "and wrote some treatises (رسالہ) on the science of Isîfa (Istîfa ?); and music."

poetry and music, he says: "I told him (the musician) that I was perfect in both the sciences and had practised both in the proper way; that I had written three volumes (daftars) in poetry and if I were to write on music, I could have composed three volumes on that science too."(1)

This proving as it does the poet's proficiency in music, shows incidentally also that he did not compose at least any comprehensive work on that science.

If, therefore, we leave aside Khusrau's work in Hindi poetry which we propose to discuss in a separate chapter, we are inclined to surmise that the bulk of his writings both in poetry and prose have been preserved and have been transmitted to us through succeeding generations without any serious damage or defalcation. But how to explain the persistent and old tradition of more than ninety works? I think here we have a common instance of popular exaggeration to deal with. There is a general tendency to ascribe to great men things that never belonged to them and to exaggerate their exploits. We can imagine this tendency in a very masked degree in the case of Khusrau, who was, perhaps, the most popular poet of India and whose name is known even to the mischievous urchins of Delhi, playing marbles in some narrow alley beside a dirty gutter even to-day about seven centuries after his death! We know, for instance, that some of the existing works said to be Khusrau's are definitely not his. Such is the Story of the four Darveshes, which, in spite of clear internal evidences to the contrary, has been persistently ascribed to Khusrau by even literary men like Mîr Amman, its translator. Such are again a poem called Shâhnâmai Khusravî

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(1) Ghurra: نظم را کردم سه دفتر و به تحریر آمدی ؛ علم موسیقی سه دیگر بودار یا ور بود
(B.M. MS. No: 21,104 f. 314 and I.O. MS. No: 1187 f.)

and another known as Inshâ-i-Khusrau of both of which we shall speak later on.

Then certain poems of Khusrau's have been mentioned under different names by various authors and so one book with three names, like the ʿAshîqa,(1) for instance, may easily be counted three by an unscrupulous biographer. Again certain longer poems from his five dîwâns, such as Bahrul ʿIbar, or Fars Nâmah, or even certain portions of his mesnevis have been enumerated by certain biographers as independent works. There are, moreover, numerous collections, as we have said above, of his ghazliyat, made by various persons from time to time, varying in extent and contents and going under different titles that may be taken as separate books by any uncritical student.

It is also quite likely that Khusrau wrote occasional tracts on all sorts of topics, on music and musical instruments, on chess or backgammon, on poetical niceties and artifices, and the like and that these treatises were counted with his other works to complete the tale of ninety-and nine. But that these treatises were numerous or very valuable I am not quite ready to believe, and cannot agree with the late Nawâb Ishâq Khân in thinking that the "greater part of his works is now irretrievably lost." I think, on the other hand, for reasons already given, that whereas we have lost most of the literary productions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the great fame of Amîr Khusrau, his pre-eminent skill and the odour of sanctity that has always clung to his memory, have worked together to save the best

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(1) This work has been known under the names of ʿAshîqa, ʿIshqiyya, Qiṣṣa-i-Duwalrânî-o-Khizar Khan, Nuskha-i-Khizar Khan, Aghaz-i-ʿIshq and Manshûr Shâhî. (See Prolegomena: Ishâq Khan, p. 14).

and most important part of his Persian works from the sad fate that overtook the works of his less fortunate and less gifted contemporaries.(1)

That Khusrau wrote anything in Arabic, other than some small poems or single verses scattered through his works is extremely unlikely. He admits himself his incompetence in that language and writing at the age of forty declares that he could have, if he had found leisure, acquired as great a mastery over that language as over Persian, but that it was too late then to 'see such idle dreams'. We can, thus, safely dismiss as untenable any theories regarding his works in Arabic and reject as a myth the absurd story that he translated the Gulistân of Sa'dî into Arabic.(2) He was too sensible to do that and could utilise his time much better.

After these introductory remarks, I now turn to a consideration of Khusrau's works that exist to-day in their more or less complete form in the various libraries in Europe, India and Egypt.

In 1915 the late Nawâb Ishâq Khan, at the instance of Nawab 'Imâdul Mulk Maulvi Syed Husain Bilgramî, formed the ambitious project of editing and publishing the complete works of Khusrau, and with this end in view the Nawab made a thorough study of the various catalogues of European, Indian and Egyptian libraries. Not content with this, and

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(1) To these, of course, we must add another important factor already enumerated, namely Khusrau's own industry in collecting them and his jealous care of their contents. How anxious the poet was concerning the preservation of his works may be seen by what he says at the conclusion of one of his diwans (Wast-ul-Hayat: I.O. MS. 1187)

سخن این دیوان همه پنجاه و هشت است در شمار ؛ هر که این را کم کند یارب که کم باد عمش بقا ؛

"The poems of this diwan are altogether fifty-eight; may not he who decreases this number live long!"

(2) See "Prolegomena: Nawâb Ishak Khan (Delhi 1917). p. 20.

believing that a large number of the poet's works - the better half in fact of the mythical tale of ninety-nine, was still missing he made a wide and patient search throughout India for discovering any works still unknown and lying concealed in the mouldy shelves of some rickety library. But with all his industry and zeal he could trace only 45 (forty-five) works, viz: (1) Tuhfatus-Sighar, (2) Wast-ul-Hayât, (3) Dîbâcha-i-Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl, (4) Dîwân Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl, (5) Baḳîya Naḳîya, (6) Matlaʿ-ul-Anwâr, (7) Shîrîn-o-Khusrau, (8) Majnûn-o-Leyla, (9) Hasht Bihisht, (10) Âìna-i-Sikandarî, (11) Qirân-us-Saʿdain, (12) Khizr Khani or ʿIshqia (ʿAshîqa), (13) Nuh Sipihr, (14) Miftâh-ul-futûh, (15) Collected Mathnawiyyât, (16) Collected Rubâʿiyât, (17) Collected poems, (18) Qasîda-i-Amir Khusrau, containing the story of Firdausi's Shah Nâma, (19) Iʿjâzi-i-Khusravi, (20) Insha-i-Khusrau, (21) Ahwâl-i-Amir Khusrau, (22) Nihâyat-ul-Kamâl, (23) Khazain-ul-futûh, (24) Nisâb Badiʿ-ul-ʿAjâib and nisâb-i-muthallath, (25) Afzal-ul-fawâ'id, (26) Khâliq Bârî, (27) Qissa-i-Chahâr Darwesh Fârisî, (28) Bâznâmah, (29) Asp Nâmah or Faras Nama, (30) Bahrul ʿIbar, (31) Mirât-us-Ṣafa, (32) Shahr Ashûb or collected Rubâʿiyât, (33) Tughlaq Nâma, (34) Tâj-ul-futûh, (35) Târîkh-i-Dihli, (36) Manâqib-i-Hind, (37) Hâlat-i-Kanhya-wa-Krishn, (38) Maktûbat-i-Amir Khusrau, (39) Jawâhir-ul-Bahr, (40) Maqâla (history of the Khalifs), (41) Râhat-ul-Muhibbîn, (42) Risâla-i-Ahvyât-i-Bahth (Khusrau and Jamî), (43) Shigarf Bayân, (44) Tarâna-i-Hindî, (45) Munâjat-i-Khusrau.

The Nawwab after giving this list, remarks: "The Bâznama, Asp Nama, Bahrul ʿIbar, Mirât-us-Ṣafâ included in the above list are names of particular mathnavîs and Qasîdas which form portions of Amîr Khusrau's dîwâns. A manuscript copy of Shahr-Ashûb was obtained from Lucknow....Regarding the Tughlaq Nama nothing has so far been learnt beyond the fact that Mir Mehdi Hasan Majruh of Delhi had a manuscript copy of this book. With regard to the remainder of the works included in the above

list, we have not hitherto been able to discover even the trace of their existence in this country."(1) This eliminates sixteen of the eighteen works beginning from No. 28, and we are left with only twenty-nine works. Of these twenty-nine, again, as we shall see, Nos. 3 and 4 are really one work, while Nos. 15, 16 and 17 are evidently selections from the works of Amir Khusrau and form no independent works; Nos. 18 and 20 as well as No. 27 do not certainly belong to Khusrau, while No. 26 is of doubtful origin. Thus there are only twenty-one works which may definitely be described as independent works by Khusrau and which are, with the exception of one, available to-day. All of these works, with the exception of Nisâb Badiʿ-ul-ʿAjâib and Nisâb Muthallath, and Shahr-Ashûb are found in the library of the British Museum, and most of them exist also in the India Office library, and I now start to a detailed account of these works. For convenience and lucidity I propose to study the works under the following heads and in the order given in the list below:

A. The five dîwâns: (1) Tuhfat-us-Sighar, (2) Wast-ul-hayât, (3) Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl, (4) Baḳîya Naḳîya, (5) Nihâyat-ul-Kamâl.

B. The historical poems: (6) Qirân-us-Saʿdain, (7) Miftâh-ul-futûh, (8) ʿAshîqa, (9) Nuh Sipihr, (10) Tughlaq Nama

C. The Khamsa: (11) Matlaʿ-ul-Anwâr, (12) Khusrav-o-Shîrîn,

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(1) P. 28 of the Prolegomena. By the above list he means the books from No. 28 to No. 45, both inclusive. My esteemed friend Mr. Zubaid Ahmed has, however, pointed out to me a MS. in the Tippoo Sultan's Library (Cat. Stewart 1809; p. 26) with the title Maqâlat-i-Amir Khusrau: memoirs of the first four Khalifs...with a treatise on sufi tenets, which is evidently the same work as No. 40 of the above list.

(13) Aina-i-Sikandari, (14) Hasht Bihisht, (15) Majnûn-o-Leyla.

D. The Ghazliyât: (16) The Lyrical poems of Khusrau.

E. Prose Works: (17) Târikh-i-'Alâi or Khazain-ul-futuh, (18) Afzal-ul-fawâid, (19) I'jâz-i-Khusravî.

F. Hindi Poetry: (20) The Khâliq Bârî and other Hindi poems ascribed to Khusrau.

Before proceeding any further, however, I shall give briefly my reasons for rejecting certain works ascribed to Khusrau either on account of a popular belief or through a mistake on the part of catalogues. I shall, of course, leave out all such works which do not exist to-day and of which the names alone can be traced in old biographies or in popular legends, and consider only such works as are available and can be examined, and of the latter there are three.(1) (1) The Qissa-i-Chahâr Darvesh, (2) Inshâ-i-Amîr Khusrau (No.)of the India Office Cat. of Persian MSS. described as an introduction to his work I'jâz-i-Khusravî), and (3) The Ode of Amir Khusrau containing the History of the Shâh Nâma of Firdausi: (Ind. Off. MS.)

No:)

(1) The Tale of the Four Darveshes. Mîr Amman in the preface to his translation of this book says that the tale was written by Amir Khusrau during a long illness of sheikh Nizâmuddin Auliya, and that he used to relate the story to him, till he recovered and blessed the author as well as the book, whence it has acquired its peculiar popularity.(2)

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(1) I do not include Khâliq Bârî in this category for I propose to discuss this work separately and also because the book may or may not be Khusrau's. For an account of some other works erroneously ascribed to Khusrau see the Prolegomena, p. 15, seq.

(2) Vide Forbes: Bâgh-o-Bahâr of Mîr Amman of Dihli London 1882, p. 6. The saint is said to have declared: "Whoever will hear this tale, will, with the blessing of God, remain in health." Mîr Amman's translation, perhaps the first book in Urdu prose, is not literal and the translator has even changed certain details of the story, but on the whole it is true to the original.

Apart from the improbability of such an incident being the occasion of its composition and the absurdity of the idea, the work certainly cannot belong to Khusrau for the following reasons:-

1. The whole style of the prose in the book is quite different from that of Amîr Khusrau's and belongs probably to a much later date.

2. Verses are very few - an unusual thing for Khusrau - and none of them belongs to him, while Khusrau always employed his own verses to adorn his prose.

3. Many words and expressions employed have never been used by Khusrau or his contemporaries.(1)

4. Several terms used clearly belong to a later period.(2)

5. The writer knew a good deal more about the 'farangîs' (the Europeans) than Khusrau could have known.(3)

6. He mentions several articles and things unknown in India in Khusrau's time.(4)

7. Lastly, the author betrays a marked propensity for the Shi'a doctrine unimaginable from Khusrau.(5)

The writer, whoever he was, lived, I think, in the early Moghul period, probably during the reign of Jahangir or Shah Jahan.

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(1) See, for instance: fol. 8b. Khushâmadgo; fol. 15: harâmiyân (thieves); f. 17b. Charsûq (market) f. 61. qûrchiyan (grooms), f. 82. tâlar (tank or pond), f. 126. Angusht-i-quhûl bar chashm nihâdan (to accept), f. 128. Utâq (room), etc., etc.

(2) They are: Tûmân, fol. 8b. and elsewhere; Dastarkhân f. 20; Ashrafî f. 22 and elsewhere; Jigha, fol. 35b, etc. Shîrmâl; fol. 76; Tarchikan (a cloth) f. 79; qalyân (tobacco was introduced into India only in the time of Akbar) and qahwa, f. 123 b.; Châqab f. 139b. etc.

(3) See ff. 53b.; 54b.; 71; 99, etc., which show that the author knew the Europeans intimately.
برہنہ سر لا برہنہ آیم براہ ورسم فرنگ ؛ کہ من گدائی فرنگم تو بادشاہ فرنگ

(4) See Note 2. above.

(5) Vide f. 105.

(2) Inshâ-i-Khusravî. This is the title of a small collection of letters in ornate prose (83 ff, or 166 pages[1] in all. I.O. MS. No. 1221) which has been described in the India Office Catalogue (Col. 707) to be a work of Khusrau, but the most cursory perusal of the work is enough to convince one that it has nothing to do with the poet. In fact, it was written by one Abdul Bâqi Munshî of Amînabad (Deccan) in the reign of Shahjahan, and comprises letters dictated by his master, Mirza Ibrâhim Beg, son of Hasan Ali Khan Turkman (see fol. 70 et seq. of the MS.). The whole style of the prose, the verses quoted (some of which belong to Khusrau himself and to much later writers)[2] and the names of books and persons mentioned would, moreover, clearly prove it to be a work of the 18th century, even if the definite information about its date and authorship were missing. The mistake has apparently arisen from its title and the opening lines:

عنوان نامۂ خیالات از مثنوی (مثنوی) معنوی صاحب کمالات صوری و معنوی امیر خسرو دہلوی ببیارایست :

Of course, what the writer means is simply that he begins his book with some verses of a mesnevi of Khusrau which follow immediately after the first few sentences. The same work has been noted, under a different title, by Nawab Ishâq Khan, as one of those books ascribed to Khusrau but not belonging to him.[4]

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(1) The MS. is not complete.

(2) Among them are Hâfiz, Nâznîn, Auhadî, Shâhi, ʿUrfî, ʿÂrif Jâm, etc. Several verses are in Turki and Hindi.

(3) e.g. Khulasât-ul-Akhbar, Khizâna-i-ʿÂmira, etc. In one of the letters the date mentioned is the 11th of Dhul-hijja, 25th year of the reign (of Shahjahan, i.e. 1062 A.H. approx.)

(4) See Prolegomena p. 18. The MS. of the work in the Rampur library, entitled "Khayâlat-i-Khusrau". The verses are from the ʿAshîqa.

(3) Qasîda of Amir Khusrau (I.O. MS. No. 183). A poem outlining the episodes described by Firdausi in Shahnameh and divided into two parts, the first ending (on f. 13b.) with the defeat of Afrasiyâb at the hands of Kâûs, and consisting of 362 verses, and the second part, 214 verses, bringing the story to a close, has been described as an ode of Amir Khusrau - why, we do not know, for in this work, unlike the one mentioned above, there is even no mention of Khusrau's name. The author, on the other hand, who styles himself Dihlavi, says clearly that he completed the first half in 1066 H.(1) and that the poem was finished in the reign of Shahjahân,(2) and so it was simply because, perhaps, the MS. in question happened to be endorsed by an ignorant possessor as قصیدهٔ امیر خسرو دہلوی that it has been ascribed to Khusrau in the catalogue.(3)

We shall now turn to the genuine works of Khusrau that are available today and consider them one by one, beginning with the earliest, Tuhfat-us-Sighar (the Present of Youth).

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(1) منت خدایرا سخنی سی هزار بیت ؛ گفتم بسه صد و بود و عجب اندرا
بوده است بر دو پنج صد از سال سنت و شش ؛ کین صفحه را زدم بسر انگشت مسطرا ؛

(2) (f. 19b.) ... شاه جهانست بر سر ما سایهٔ خدا ؛ اسلام را ز قوت بازوی او مدد ...
The poet evidently called it Fihrist-i-Shâh Nameh, for he says:
فهرست شاهنامه بود نام نظم تو ؛ شیرین کند مذاق جهانرا چو شکرا

(3) This poem, as far as I know, does not exist in any other library. It is written in a smooth flowing metre and the opening lines are very much like some odes of Qaani. The author Dihlavi may be the same person as Mohd. Sâdiq (or Sadiq Khan) Dihlavi, the writer of Shahjahan Namah. Beg: (after a rubai):
آمد نگارمن بسر از ناز افسرا ؛ با قامتی چو از خمین خلد عنبرا ؛

The First Divan.

The first collection of Khusrau's poems was made about the year 671 H. and contains, according to the poet's own statement in the preface, such poems as he composed from the age of sixteen to nineteen. It was his great friend and patron, Tâjuddin Zâhid, who urged Khusrau (then a mere youth and, as in the case of most young geniuses, very diffident about the merits of his own poetry) to make the collection.

"These verses," he says, "like the natal hair of children were best clipped off and so I did not want to preserve any of them. But my friend, Zâhid, whose subtle mind is a tire-woman for the tresses of poetry (may God set his affairs right) collected these scattered writings, hair by hair, and having trimmed them, knit them up together." The poet remonstrated with Zâhid, saying that the collection was worthless and should better be consigned to fire. He feared criticism from the poets and scholars that were already both famous and numerous in Delhi. But Tâjuddin Zâhid consoled him. "Your critics," he said, "can be but of two kinds: ignorant and knowing. If they are wise they would certainly make allowances for your extreme youth, and if they are foolish, it is a folly to be afraid of them." So, Khusrau, after a good deal of hesitation agreed and wrote a verse descriptive of each of the poems thus collected, so that when taken together these introductory verses form a poem not of course continuous or consistent in sense, but

preserving the form of a qaṣîda.(1) This was an innovation of the poet, and was, as we have noted above, quite helpful in the preservation of his poems.

The dîwân comprises thirty-five qaṣîdas,(2) five tarjî's and Tarkîb-bands, several fragments, mostly small, and a short mesnevi descriptive of the poet's unpleasant experiences in an Afghan fortress.(3) Most of the qaṣîdas are in praise of Ghiyâthuddîn Balban(4) and his son Prince Mohammad Qaân Nasîruddin, the Martyr Prince, while others were written for some of the nobles of Balban's court, like Amir Ali surnamed Hâtam Khan, Ikhtiyâruddin Kishlû Khan, Shamsuddin, Qiwâmulmulk 'Azîzuddin, etc. One of the Tarkîb bands is an elegy on the death of his grandfather, 'Imâdul Mulk, the 'Âriḍ,(5) while another very interesting poem is a dirge on the sad demise of two birds, pets of the poet.

Khusrau in these early poems of his has often tried to imitate Khâqânî, the great master of Persia whose qasîdas have always been the model for ambitious poets and who even today is recognised to be the greatest artist in writing such poems. It was not an easy task for a young and untrained

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(1) The verses are called abyât-i-Silsila or abyat-i-Surkh, and I do not think any poet, other than Khusrau has employed them. They are missing in the case of several of the odes in the I.O. MS. 1187. In this dîwân they run like this: دارندہ الیت جایۂ عشرت بجاہ دی ؛ این سفر گرم و ترکمی روح پرور است etc. See the Dîbâcha of Tuhfat-us-Sighar.

(2) The number is the same in the I.O. MS. 1187 and the B.M. MS. 25,807, but the first qasîdas in the two manuscripts do not agree and there is a difference in the sequence. The rest of the qasîdas and tarjî's, etc., are identical.

(3) See supra.

(4) This contradicts the statement of Sheikh Abdul Haq that 'there are but few poems by Khusrau in praise of Balban.' (See Akhbâr-ul-Akhyâr, p. 100.)

(5) See supra.

poet to imitate Khâqanî and Khusrau seems to have met difficulties in spite of his brilliant poetic instinct. "For some time," says he, "I followed in the footsteps of Khâqânî and imitated him as far as form is concerned, although I often found it difficult to comprehend some of the words employed by him, and on account of my youth could not often follow his ideas."(1) Khusrau then has tried to give to his poems a grandeur, a flow and a rhythm that characterise the poems of Khâqânî, but he has scrupulously avoided the use of difficult words and expressions that often render the Persian master's poetry unintelligible to a man of ordinary intellect and scholarship. But it is precisely these words and phrases that give to Khâqânî's poems their peculiar grandeur and that delighted the minds of his admirers. Khusrau was too young to succeed fully in his attempt and he admits his own defeat,(2) but any careful reader would clearly see in these first fruits of a growing mind the promise of a greatness as genuine as that of Khâqânî.(3)

Anvarî and Sanâ'î were the other two masters that Khusrau tried to imitate in his earlier days and in the Tuhfat-us-Sighar we find some poems that are evidently

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(1) Dibâcha of Tuhfat-us-Sighar. I translate freely.

(2) "But the sublimity of those masters' poetry was beyond the reach of my ambition." (Dibacha.)

(3) In fact, Khusrau's odes after Khâqânî are wonderful specimens of artistic poetry. See, for instance, odes No. 10.: صبح از نگین چرخ بیاساس بر آورد

No. 17.: ای آینه ماه روی تو مهر اندر آئینه

etc.., written in imitation of Khâqânî's odes, beg: (p. 13 of Kulliyât): بر صبح رخ ز گلشن سودا بر آورم

کز وخزان تا خلق پرسد خیل بهار ; حافظه بر تو ایم و تو فتنه بر آئینه (p. 66 Ibid);

(Ibid p. 262).

written after Anvarî.(1)

In several of these poems, as he says himself, the poet uses the pen-name of Sultânî, bestowed upon him by Khwaja 'Izzuddîn.(2) The preface supplies some interesting biographical details of which we have already availed ourselves and is written in a very ornate style that often renders it difficult to follow the sense clearly. Here are a few lines from the elegy on the two dead birds:

"When in the evening the phoenix of the sky went down, I went to their cage to put in some more grains, but I found them both lying cold and dead in the water basin on account of the extreme heat of the air.....Alas! their pretty heads with parted feathers like buds and alas, their breasts more bloomful than jessamine! Their fresh and soft feathers like the silk of Cathay and new and warm like the velvet of China! Let birds all over the world cry and weep for them.....Let the dove-pigeons break their cords of captivity in their mad grief and with their red tears paint a collar round their necks! Let the hoopoos burn their crests with their burning sighs and wreathe their sad sighs about their heads like crowns!.....Let the swallows gather together in mourning and fill the garden with turmoil with their groans and laments!.....May God that they two live for ever in Iram, and in the garden of Mercy.....May their nest be in the branches of the Sidra when birds congregate on the trees of Paradise! May the faith and loyalty of

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(1) Such is No. 39 beg: بازبلبل در غزلخوانی شده است in which he says:
ما کند گردون چشم انوری ؛ خاک من کحل سیاهانی شده است

(2) He says in the poem referred to above:
هر که در عهد تو سلطان سخن ؛ خسرو لاجین سلطانی شده است

these two friends pass into an eternal romance among the people of the world!"(1)

The Second Diwân.

Wast-ul-Hayât.

The second collection of Khusrau's poem, named by him 'Wastul-Hayât'(2) (the Middle of Life), was made by the poet in his thirty-second year,(3) and consists of a preface, fifty-eight qasîdas, eight tarjîʿs, several fragments and quatrains, making a total of 8441 verses (abyât) altogether.

The preface, written in the same style as that of the Tuhfat-us-Sighar, is quite long and supplies a few more details about the poet's career.

We learn from it that the poet had now established his position among the poets of Delhi and that with the advance of years his poetry had acquired maturity and richness. "The time," he says, "for the ascendancy of witty compositions

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(1) The birds were apparently cocks, for Khusrau calls them 'nar' ( ). No. 40 (fol. 47) I.O. MS. 1187, and No. 41 in B.M. MS. 25,807.

(2) See preface: .... وترجمتها بوسط الحیواة

and further on: ... تمام این تاوفرخ صفات وسط الحیواة کرده شد.

(2) According to Khusrau the dîwân contains poems written between the nineteenth (the I.O. MS. has 12th) and twenty-fourth years of his age. But he says himself that he was thirty-two when he wrote the preface and there are poems in the collection written certainly after the age of 24. No. 35 (f. 104) was written in 690 while No. 6 was composed in 684 when the poet was thirty-three and No. 4 at the age of thirty-two.

and elegant writings is no doubt the middle of our lives and the sweet youth. If a writer's fiery nature does not light a blazing torch in the world during the night of youth, no bright picture is left on the page of time from his pen after his death." He goes on to say that it was only at the age of thirty-two that his poetic genius was fully developed for the poetry of very young people is unripe and imperfect, howsoever intense their passion for it and howsoever great their talents. The poetry of old age is weak, lacking the fire and the vivid imagination of youth, and thus while youth wants maturity and perfection of technique old age lacks passion and imagination. Hence it is the middle age that is best suited for the production of a poetry of the highest order.

This collection, too, he made at the persistent requests of his friends who, having preserved carefully his verses, odes and masnavîs, handed them over to the poet to be arranged in their present form. The poet has supplied this dîwân also with the introductory verses(1) (abyat-i-silsila) and has made use of certain other new artifices in the poems contained in it.(2)

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(1) The abyât-i-silsila run as follows:
ابتدا چون شد کتاب من ز توحید خدا ؛ هست امیدم که بخشد از ظلم نور وصفا ؛

(2) One of these is the peculiar form of 'Takhallus' called Hâmil-i-Mauqûf. For example, he quotes the following lines (qasida No. 58; f. 122b. I.O. MS. 1187):
اکنون که آب چشم بلاگشت مرا ؛ الخ. هنوز ماجه کند غمزهای فتانه ورت ؛ الخ
اگر به لطف برین بنده مهربان نه بود ؛ ستوده حضرت دنیا محمد سلطان ؛ چه کرد بذات وی از محدث نشان نه بود

Cf. also B.M. MS. 25,807, f. 6. This artifice became very popular in later times and Qaanî often employs it. (See the Mukhammas in praise of the Queen-Mother.) (Calcutta 1907, p. 308.)

Among the qasîdas are Hukmul-Hikam (No. 6, f. 73b.), ʿÂlam-ul-ʿIlm (No. 7, f. 79b.); Azhar-ul-anwâr (No. 31, f. 99b.) and Mirwahatur-rûh (No. 35, f. 104b.), while the Tarjîʿât contain ʿAin-ul-Maânî Ruyat-ul-Hilâl and Hadîqat-ul-hadâqat. Most of the qasîdas are in praise of the martyr Prince, Mohammad Qaân.(1) Other qasîdas are in praise of God, the Prophet, Nizâmuddin Auliya, Balban, Kaiḳobâd, Bughra Khan, Ikhtiyâruddin Kishlîkhan, Shamsuddin Dabîr, Tâjuddîn Alp bin Azhdar, Jalâluddin Firoz Khalji,(2) etc. The Hukm-ul-Hikam describes the catastrophe at Multan(3) and the poet's own captivity, while the Mirwahatur-rûh depicts the rigours of a journey in the hot weather.(4) Among the Tarjîʿs, Nos. 6, 7 and 8 are elegies on the death of Prince Mohammad,(5) Nos. 1, 2 and 3 are addressed to the same prince, No. 4 is a fine poem written on the accession of Kaiḳobâd(6) and No. 5 is addressed to Kishlî Khan.(7)

The Tarjîʿs are followed by forty-two fragments of varying lengths and on diverse topics,(8) some being addressed to contemporary persons of rank. The last

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(1) Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44 and 55.

(2) No. 54 (f. 120b.) It is the only poem in this diwan in praise of him.

(3) and (4) See supra.

(5) See supra.

(6) The poem has for its refrain:
سناه معز دنیا و دین کیقباد و سناه جهان یک دیده و دو مرد ملک چار بادشاه ؛
(See supra).

(7) The order of the poems as given in the B.M. MS. 25,807, is different from that in the I.O. MS. 1187.

(8) The poet gives the number at the beginning (f. 139b.) in the bait-i-silsila:

The MS. has all the 42.

fragment gives the number of the verses in the dîwân.(1)

Khusrau in this dîwân, as in the Tuhfatus-Sighar, has followed close in the footsteps of Khaqani and we must look in the diwan of that master for the prototypes of several of Khusrau's qasîdas. The elegies, too, beautiful and distinctive as they are, have also their inspiration from Khâqânî's elegies, but Khusrau has given them a pathos and a local colour that mark them as entirely his own. At the time Khusrau wrote the poems in this dîwân, another Persian master, Kamâl of Ispahân, had come into great prominence. This poet, essentially a panegyrist, has been called the 'Creator of Ideas' on account of his subtle and highly artistic style, so that according to Daulat Shah one could grasp his meaning only after a second or third perusal of his verses.(2)

Khusrau, like other poets of his time, also tried his hand at the new style and soon acquired a great proficiency in it. We have already seen how he recited one of his quatrains in that style before Maulana Mushiruddîn(3) and how that great scholar praised and admired his skill.

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(1) f. 145. The number is given in an enigma, which, however, the poet explains himself:

... هیئت ابر آمده است بر یک آب ؛ عینم یعنی که هیئت بار بخوان ؛ ما بیکبار دیده ایم صواب الخ

i.e. 8. × عینم + ما = 8 (1000 + 10 + 40) + 40 + 1 = 8400 + 41 = 8441.

(2) Tazkira p. 149. See also Browne Lit. Hist. II. p. 540 seq.; and Majma'-ul-Fusaha I, 489 seq.

(3) Dibacha of Wastul Hayât, I.O. MS. 1187. The name given is Mushiruddîn Gharifi or Ghirifi, but in the B.M. MS. 25,807 (f. 3 seq.) the name is transcribed as Muhadhdhibuddîn Balakhi. Neither of the two names is mentioned by Barni, although it would appear that the man was a great scholar for Khusrau calls him: مولانا محی الاسلام معنی مقتدای انام الخ

Kamâl, then, is the other poet whom Khusrau has followed in this dîwân, and we can trace a similarity between the poems of the two masters.

We have already translated portions of two of the fine elegies written by the poet on the death of Prince Muhammad. Here are a few lines more from another.

"O my heart! Put up with grief, for happiness has disappeared, and thou O Sorrow! take the world for pleasure has left the earth.....The Eye and the Lamp of the king of the world is gone; the champion and bulwark of the Indian empire is no longer there! Where is the right arm of that Treasure of the Kingdom and the faith? Where alas is the Prince of the whole world.....O Sâkî, away with the wine, for it has lost its old flavour! O Minstrel, stop that music, for the lute lacks its former ring of pleasure. Throw the wine on dust for the time of joy is over, and smash the cup on stone as the days of drinking are gone! Alas! who shall now reply the enemy on the day of battle, when the sharp tongue of the sword is gone? Khusrau! how long this tale of woe? the night is approaching its end and the Khan has gone to sleep. Draw the cover on that moon-like face and tear open the lining of the black cap.(1)

"A month has passed and he goes not out to play "chaugân." His sword does not glitter in the fray, and his charger does not run in the cavalcade. He laughs not like the rose in the garden and he shows not his face like the moon from the balcony. The "nadîms"(2) sit with books in

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(1) The black cap, like the black umbralla or canopy, was a symbol of royalty. Tearing it would, of course, be a sign of mourning.

(2) Courtiers or companions.

their hands; why does he not manage the state-affairs as of yore? It is the new year's day, why is his assembly not decorated like the garden of Paradise to celebrate it? Oh, would that this night of sorrow were over, and the sun that has just set had risen up again! Would that the infidel had received from the swords of the ghâzîs what the ghâzîs received from his arrows![1] Where are the jândârs[2] of the Prince? Would that I saw them race like the wind by the side of the golden umbralla! Where are all the armour-bearers?[3] I wish I could see them bringing the princely sword with its golden belt, and shout, 'Be joyeous, the Prince arrives in Multan!' Alas! it is only the dust of Malik Mohammad Sultan that arrives!"

The dîwân Wastul-Hayât is rather rare and is not found in several copies of the Kulliyât.[4]

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(1) Khusrau is very candid in acknowledging the reverse suffered by the Indian army.

(2) Guards. See Sarjândâr (supra).

(3) Silâhdârs.

(4) All the references, unless otherwise stated, are from the I.O. MS. No. 1187.

The Third Divan.

Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl.

Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl (the Prime of Perfection), the third and in several respects the most important of Khusrau's five dîwâns, was collected and arranged by the poet in the year 693 H., and, in its first form, contained poems composed between 685 H. and 693 H. or from the age of thirty-four to that of forty-three years.(1) The poet was encouraged and helped in the task by his friends, notably ʿAlâuddin ʿAlî Shah, the Scribe, Maulana Shihâbuddin and Tâjuddin Zâhid. The dîwân has been, like the two preceding ones, supplied with the abyât-i-silsila (introductory verses) and a preface which is very full(2) and gives briefly the outlines of the poet's biography.(3) It contains, moreover, some very interesting discussions about the merits of poetry, the superiority of Persian poetry over Arabic poetry, the excellence of the language and verse of India, the different kinds and classes of verse, and the various methods of acquiring mastery over this art. The poet also speaks of his own accomplishments and of some new ideas and artifices, introduced by him into poetry.

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(1) That the poet added subsequently later poems to the dîwân is apparent from its contents and also from what he says in the Dîbâcha: "From the year 685, when I was 34 years of age, to the year 693 when I have become 43 - all compositions collected by the Scribes have been inserted in this volume and whatever gathers later on shall also be spent herein."

(بعد ازین ہرچہ جمع اوفتد ہم درین کارخانہ خرج شود)

(2) It occupies more than thirty folios in the B.M. MS. 25,807 (f. 327b. to f.358b.)

(3) We have already availed ourselves of this valuable information.

Speaking of Arabic and Persian verse he advances the following arguments to show the superiority of the latter:

1. Persian poetry is more rhythmetic and balanced. Zihâf, etc., spoil the beauty of Arabic verse.

2. The fact that Arabic possesses such a vast vocabulary and words of multifarious senses while few words in Persian have more than one sense, and yet the Persian poetry has reached to such a high pitch of excellence, is sufficient to show the superiority of this poetry over Arabic poetry.

3. Arabic poetry requires only the 'qâfiya' while the Persian has both qâfiya and radîf.

He says of Indian scholars:

"Again, the scholars of India, especially those who live in Delhi, are superior in poetic talent to men of good taste found anywhere else in the world. The Arab, the Khurâsânî, the Turk, the Hindu or others who come to various cities of India in the possession of the Mohammadans like Delhi, Multan or Lakhnauti, not to speak of Gujrât, Mâlwa or Deogir, which are still the demoniac abodes of the Hindus, cannot change their tongue even if they spend their whole lives and shall always compose after the fashion of their own country.....But a writer who has been brought up in the cities of India, especially Delhi, can, without actual contact or intercourse with any particular people, write verse after the manner of that people - nay, can even mould their prose and poetry to his own requirements(1) and can write successfully in the style of any country he goes to. It has been proved by experience that several of our

(1) تواند که در نظم و نثر ایشان تصرف کند

men, without ever visiting Arabia, have acquired an eloquence in Arabic which was denied even to great Arab masters.....I have seen many a Tâzik and Turk, who learnt Turkish in India by education and study and spoke it so eloquently that pure Turks coming from Khorasan were astonished.(1)

Similarly, the Persian language, although, of course, its original home was Persia, has lost its purity of idiom everywhere except in Mâwaraun-nahr, the language of that country being like that of India. The Khorasanî, for instance, says chî for chih, while some say kajû for kujâ, although they write the words properly.....But the Persian tongue in India from the river Sind to the sea-shore(2) is one and invariable. When we possess such uniformity of idiom, it is but natural that our poetry is great. This Persian of ours is, moreover, the original and pure Persian.(3) The Hindui tongue, no doubt, varies greatly in idiom in different parts of the country, but Persian is the same throughout its length and breadth, and it is pronounced as it is written. It is not like the tongue of the people of Aizerbaijân, who say 'kardakun' for karda, or like that of the Sistanis who always conclude their words with 'sin', e.g. kardai-sin, gufta-i-sin. Yet, when some of the Balâîs came here - and they were learned and scholarly persons, not boors - the Persian writers of Delhi adopted their speech in order to mock them, and wrote so well in that style that they could not criticise or find fault with their writing."

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(1) This would show that the Turks in India had already become strangers to Turkish.

(2) He means, of course, sea-shore in the extreme south.

(3) Parâsi-i-Darî.

The Dîwân has got more than ninety qasîdas and Tarjîs, about nine mesnevis, numerous fragments and quatrains. The qasîdas contain some of the finest specimens of Khusrau's poetry that have acquired a well-deserved fame. Several of them have been written as replicas to famous poems by older masters like Anwarî, Khâqânî, Zahîr of Faryâb and Kamâl of Ispahan, but there are many more which are original.

Among the qasîdas are: (1) Jannât-un-najât, written in imitation of Sanâ'î and containing the praise of God, the poet's conception of Him and his ideas about religious beliefs and practices, written at the age of forty-one in 692 H.; (2) Mirât-us-Safâ, a very well-known poem, being a replica to Khâqânî's 'Shînîyya'.(1) The poem written in a didactic strain is a very long one and was composed in 695 H. when the poet was almost forty-five. The main theme is the praise of the Prophet. (3) Daryâ-i-abrâr, another very famous poem, that excited the praise and jealousy of his contemporaries and successors, has for its main theme the eulogy of the saint Nizâmuddin Auliya,(2) (4) Nazmuddurar,

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(1) Poem rhyming in 'shîn'. Khâqânî's poem contains 24 verses while the Mirâtus-Safâ of Khusrau has 150 verses. Other imitations of the poem are: Jila-ur-Rûh, by Jâmi (130 verses), Anîs-ul-Qalb by Fuzûlî of Baghdad (134 verses) and 'Ummân-ul Jawâhir by 'Urfî (94 verses). (See Hajji Khalifa IV. 510.)

(2) See Nawai's Majâlis-un-Nafâ'is (Trans. by M. Belin. Journal Asialique XVII. 1861, p. 329 seq.), where the author says how he praised the poem in the presence of Jâmi, how Jâmi composed his famous poem, Lujjat-ul-Asrâr in reply to it and how Nawâ'i himself composed another imitation, Bahr-ul-Afkâr. According to Nawâ'i, Khusrau said: "Si par tels evenements quelconques mes oeuvres venaient a etre totalement perdues sauf cette qacide, je ne m'en inquieterais guere, car quiconque la lira saura apprecier ma valeur et mon talent dans la republique des lettres." Khusrau's, Jâmî's and Nawâi's poems open respectively as follows:

(۱) کوس شه خالی و بانگ غلغلش اندر سراست (۲) گنگر ایوان شه کز کاخ کیوان برتر است ؛ (۳)
آ تشین لعلی که تاج خسروان را زیور است ؛

another poem in a marked didactic strain. Other qasîdas are mostly panegyrics addressed to Jalâluddin Firoz Khaljî, to his sons, Arkalik Khan and Ibrâhim Qadar Khan, to Alâ'uddîn Khalji and his brother, Almâs Beg, Ulugh Khan, to Ikhtiyâruddîn 'Alî bin Aybek (Hâtim Khan), and to some other contemporary nobles.

The tarjî's contain a very fine poem, written in imitation of a poem of Khâqânî, containing the praise of the Prophet, a panegyric named Nûr-un-Nûr addressed to Jalâluddin Khalji, another addressed to 'Alâuddin Khalji on the birth of a son, describing the decoration of Delhi on the auspicious occasion, an elegy on the death of Prince Mahmûd Khan-i-Khanân, eldest son of Firoz Khalji, and another on the death of the poet's own son, Muhammad.

The masnavis include Miftâh-ul-futûh (which has often been considered as a separate work but which certainly belongs to the Ghurratul Kamâl as evidenced by the 'bait-i-silsila' that precedes it)(1), a long letter addressed to Tâjuddin Zâhid, written in 676 H. from Oudh, comprising 263 verses; the Faras Namah a very humorous and interesting poem addressed to Amir Ali Sarjândar (Hâtim Khan) describing the plight of a horse given by that noble to the poet and requesting the gift of another; short poems descriptive of the splendour of certain princely structures and a very

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(1) The verse is in the same metre and has the same rhyme as the other introductory verses in the dîwân and is, in fact, given in the abyât-i-silsila given collectively in the beginning of the dîwân. It runs as follows:

بین مثنوی و خاصه چنین فتحنامه ؛ کز دیدنش تحیر سحبانه گشت زال ؛

The opening verse of the Ghurra is:

چون آفتاب روشن توحید ذوالجلال ؛ بنمود رخ ز مطلع این غرهٔ کمال

while the last verses are:

مست خدا یرا که شد این ماه نو تمام ؛ وز هجرت رسول شده یکصد و دو سال الخ

We shall consider the mesnevi, however, separately later on.

small but original sonnet addressed to a fan.

The fragments, as usual, are of various lengths and treat of very diverse topics. The fragments are followed by rubâ-îs (quatrains), and then comes a collection of Ghazels. The qasâids in the Ghurra are some of the finest poems of Khusrau and display an elegance, a flow and a charm that is really wonderful. His imitations of the older masters have in some cases excelled the originals in sheer grandeur and pathos and have equalled them in artistic phraseology, while some of the original poems are the finest specimens of Persian poetry.

Here are a few lines from one of the qasîdas in praise of Jalâluddin Firoz Khalji, after Zahîr of Faryâb:(1)

"The loved one's sweet, honeyed mouth
That bliss to life doth give,
To life-less ones from its sweet font
The nectar rich doth give.
Lo! Here am I but one of those
Who pine away from her!
Sure, 'tis the lot of every one
Whom she false hopes doth give.
Long ages pass, but never doth
She think of her poor friends
Oh that the kindly Lord to her
A softer heart doth give!
What cares she in her regal pomp,
In her swift, bright career
If there be one who from afar
Doth watch - his life doth give?
My heart is lost - I grope for it
In darkness in her alley
Is there a soul of this lost one
A clue to me can give?
O Gard'ner 'ware the fiery sighs
The nightingale shall breathe!
Let not that fair rose its sweet scent
To morning breezes give!

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(1) The qasîda opens thus:
شیرین دهانِ یار که راحت بجان دهد : آب حیات زان لب شکر فشان دهد:
(Kulliyât-i-Khusrau: Nawal Kishore: p. 28; I.O. MS. 1186 No. ; B.M. MS. 25,807, No. 43.)
while Zahir's qasîda begins as:
شرح غم تو لذت شادی بجان دهد : لعل لب تو طعم شکر در دهان دهد:
(Vide Lubb-ul-Albâb II. 304;
Compare also Ghalib's qasida.

My heart doth bleed with jealousy
  Of that impudent cup,
For see how every moment she
  A kiss to it doth give!
Lo! E'en the Saki doth conspire
  To rob me of my life!
Dead-drunk am I, and evermore
  Fresh goblets he doth give!
Lost am I now, nor can revive
  E'en if with her fair hands
She pours the wine for me and with
  A gracious smile doth give!
A thousand times my mouth I wash
  With purest nectar rare
Ere may my mouth an humble kiss
  On the kingly stirrup give!
The mighty king, Jalaluddin,
  To whom the lofty heaven
Its seven chairs as ladders for
  The lofty throne doth give -
Firoz, the glorious king, whose fame
  From East to West spreading.
Each moment to all living things
  New hopes of peace doth give!

The 'Faras-Nâma' is a fairly long mesnevi, written in an easy, flowing style. Some portions of it are extremely interesting, and display a keen sense of humour in the port. I give below a translation of part of it.

"O horse-giver, listen - listen for a moment to the tale of the horse and the grief of Khusrau! When once in your generosity you bestowed horses on all that be and so many stables, like ropes of pearls, were scattered, I pulled up courage and took away one of the pearls from the populous stables. Yes, I took a pearl, but not born of nacre, amber-coloured but not amber. Nay, not a pearl but a sky-exploring cloud, that eclipsed the pearls of the sky, - a tartar horse of sweet temper; a Turkish steed, unique in all Hind.....Hot in career like the sun, swift in flight as the desert wind.....His feet flew in air like birds and his shoes shone like the crescent moon in mid-air.....

Although I captured that demon, I was myself afraid of its malign influence. I recited and blew all the incantations I knew, but I fled from him and he from himself. But at last

I got on to his back after a good deal of coaxing and wheedling - pale with fear like a dried-up leaf on an autumn twig - and drove him ever so gently. My hands and feet trembled as doth a rose swaying in the breeze, and I sat on his back a picture of helplessness - like a piece of bone on the back of the Phoenix,(1) dreading a fall every moment and preparing myself for death. As I went through the streets, he jumped from house to house, trampling on every horse he met on the way, and thus like a flying bird I reached back my home....."

The poet then describes how this spirited horse grew thin and weak for want of nourishment, and proceeds:

"I tried my best to restore him to his former vigour, but it was no use: on the other hand, I also became ill. When, however, I got a little stronger I went to enquire about him, and said to him: 'O my hardy steed that wast like fire and water ere this, what is it that ails thee, so that thou hast become like the autumn rose? Thou wast a bird, but hast become a nest: thou wast a horse and hast become a whip. Every joint of thy body appears like a reed and I, the rider of the reed, must look like a madman. I am not a child to ride a reed-horse: I should consign such a reed to fire. How dost thou fare now? Tell me without hesitation or fear."

The horse in great indignation replies that it is starvation that has brought him to this miserable condition and requests the poet to write his former master from him,

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(1) Bones are considered to be the favourite food of the fabulous bird Humay. Sadi says of it: کاستخوان خورد وطایر چیها نگوارد

telling him of his plight and asking him to take him back. The letter runs as follows:

"This is my tale: I break the seal, and display the unseen image to the commander of the world, the expert, royal rider of the horse of bounty. With due humility and earnestness the poor Tartar horse relates his grievous story standing in the row of shoes.(1) You, in your royal favour and kindness, were pleased to bestow me upon Khusrau, and he took me to his house, where I saw a stable, vile and rotten. There are in it a few scabby horse-lings, their backs bare of skin and their heads devoid of hair. Their ribs look like the teeth of a comb, and they are thin as hair.....For want of fodder they have become blind and feeble and are tied to pegs that will be their graves. On account of their intense craving for fodder, grass has grown on their bellies. They chew wood like sugar and suck reeds like the sugar-cane.....I watch every night the galaxy and strive to pick grain from the moon.....for ever since I left your abode my stomach was never filled with grass.

"O Knight and Chief, and O Master! O mighty lion and furious dragon! In your patronising kindness you gave me to your slave, for you, who provide comfort for the whole world, are always kind and generous. But why were you so angry with me that you gave me away and took no pity? You gave me away in generosity, have mercy also for me.....I know you are too generous to take back what you have given, but take me away from this deceitful tyrant (Khusrau) and give him some other horse. Give him another

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(1) Saffi-Nial: the lowest rank in an assembly where generally the guests place their shoes.

horse and give him what the horse may eat, for otherwise that horse would never come out alive from his house. Give him not a horse without fodder if you want it not to die of starvation like me; let it not suffer what I have suffered at his hands. Behold! I am already at death's door and can hear the sounds of the other world. I go to empty the granaries of Paradise of their oats and hay. I have stood up but to fall, and have opened my heart to lay down my life, for how can I live in this plight? - may you live happily for a hundred years and may the horse of desire be under your saddle! God grant my prayer, Amen!"

That Khusrau, in spite of what he says in the dibacha, did ultimately attach a number of ghazels to this dîwân is clear from two of the abyât-i-silsila' that were evidently meant to top the collection of ghazels.(1) The book opens with poems in praise of God and the Prophet, and contains a large number of lyrics arranged in alphabetical order.

The number of quatrains is also very large, and some of them are in the Shahr-Ashûb style - a novel feature in Khusrau's works.(2) They are addressed to young and handsome pliers of different crafts and trades - a fisherman, the son of a tavern-keeper, that of a weaver, of a money-changer, a tailor, and so on. One of the quatrains is of special interest, being a rare example in verse of the artifice 'Double-tongued' (ذوالسانین), wherein the concluding words can be wnterpreted both in Persian as well as Hindi without spoiling the meaning of the whole. It runs as

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(1) The verses are: درد دلیست هر غزلم زان سبب که هست | ابیات عاشقانه نگر کن که هر یکی
خلق بتان بلائی دل و فتنهٔ این خیال ؛ | دارد سواد کوته و خوش وقت شب وصال ؛

(2) B.M. MS. No. 25,807, ff. 439-440. These quatrains probably form part of the collection entitled the Shahr-Ashub of Khusrau, referred to by the late Nawab Ishaq Khan. (See Prolegomena.)

follows: 'I saw a Hindu youth sweet as sugar from head to foot and the sight filled me with wonder. I asked him to tell me what the down on his face was, and he cried out 'mori bapa.'(1)

MSS. of the dîwân exist in many libraries in Europe and India, but it has never been published.(2)

The Fourth Divan.

Bakîya Nakîya.

The fourth collection of Khusrau's poems was made, again by the poet himself, about the year 716 H.(3) or soon after the death of ʿAlâuddin Khalji. Apparently the poet, when he compiled and edited the Ghurra, never thought that he would be able to produce a fourth dîwân and so intended to attach all subsequent compositions to that collection.(4) But his poetry grew, as it were, in spite of himself. His genius, the poetic mind, grew younger and more vigorous with the advance of age. He says himself in the preface:-

"My mind.....grows greedier of poesy every day. At the age of thirty-two, when I composed one quatrain, I had

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(1) In Persian 'ant with feet', in Hindi an exclamation 'Oh my father!' B.M. MS. f. 439b.

(2) I have utilised I.O. MSS. Nos. 1186 and 1187, and the B.M. MSS. Nos. 25,807 and

(3) I conclude this from the dibâchâ where he gives his age, at the time of writing it, as sixty-four. ʿAlâuddin died in 715 H.

(4) See supra.

to think and ponder before I could produce another. But now when I am sixty-four and the pearls of my teeth are about to fall, my mind tells me that this is the proper time to let pearls of poesy drop from my mouth. The harder I try to seal my mouth, the more profusely these pearls come out.....Often do I plunge into seas(1) unfathomed even by the perfect masters, and without any great trouble bring out so many bright pearls that I can hardly gather them. But as the days for decorating and ornamenting verses are now past, I pick up only one or two that are worth picking up and string them together while the rest lie on the surface(2) of my mind, soiled and neglected, for if I were to collect all the fine pearls, there would have been not four diwans but four oceans.....

"I improvise so swiftly that ere one can utter the name of 'bait' I finish a verse, and even the quick imagination cannot overtake my improvisations for many a quatrain have I completed ere I had time to imagine or think. By the right of my pen, very often the flowing pen of the swift and agile Scribe has failed to attain the quickness of my composition and in the assemblies of kings mostly I have been content to extemporise and to dispense with the services of the pen....."(3)

No wonder, then, that the poet was tempted to add a fourth dîwân to the three already existing. He started on the old plan, wrote a preface, and the introductory verses, and made a collection of qasâidḥ, tarjîs, fragments,

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(1) Buhûr, which, of course, means both seas and metres.

(2) Literally on the "clay (tin) of my mind".

(3) Dibâcha Bakîya Nakîya:

quatrains and some short mesnevis. But the preface was written in a new style which Khusrau had recently evolved and in which passages of varying lengths are composed with analogies drawn from different things and topics.(1)

The preface begins, as usual, with the praise of God, and the eulogy of the Prophet followed by an encomium on his Sheikh, Nizâmuddin Auliya. Then comes a passage of self-laudation characteristic of a man who is sure of his powers and knows that his claim to superiority is unchallenged. "The slave, Khusrau," he says, "by the grace of the kingdom-bestowing God, is unique and peerless in the realm of poetry. Every quatrain of his strikes the five-fold 'naubat'(2) on the drum of the nine skies and the Khaṭṭî(3) lance of his pen, which has a sky-scraping flag of fine verses, has risen to the azure canopy of heaven. His royal coins, each of which is perfect and bright like the full moon, have become current from city to city or rather, like the silvery disc of the sun, have caught the East and the West.....The far-sighted wise ones know well that in his writings there are every kind of prose and poetry of such a high order as would not acknowledge the superiority of anything except the Koran, the traditions of the Prophet and the sayings of the religious scholars..... Every 'tauhîd'(4) written by him is a ray from 'God is the Light of the skies and the earth';(5) every 'naʿt' is a

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(1) Khusrau first employed this style in the composition of Khazâin-ul-futûh, though he had explained it in the Ijâz-i-Khusravi. We shall speak more about it in connection with the former work.

(2) A drum or a band played before the residence of a sovereign or a noble at stated intervals.

(3) Khatti lances were famous in Arabia. Khusrau, of course, puns upon the word Khaṭṭ, which means also 'script' or writing.

(4) Praise of God.

(5) A verse from the Koran:

reflection of 'yâsîn'....."(1)

He then goes on to describe the four orders of poetry which he likens to the four elements, i.e. earth, water, air and fire, and of which the one resembling fire, he says, is the noblest and most sublime. Then he compares his four dîwâns to four skies and gives his ideas as to how a dîwân should be arranged and what it should contain.(2) He then again speaks of his prowess in the field of poetry but winds up, in curious contrast, with a note of dismay, despondence and regret. "In the criminal pursuit," he says, "of black and white,(3) my beard, once black, has turned white and my white face has become black, and yet like foolish children I sleep content with the thought that my ghazels keep the young and the old awake.(4) My condition is like that of a child who is sent to school to learn wisdom, but who runs instead to the childish sport of reed-riding, and so remains a pedestrian(5) for the whole of his life. I believe that the proper use of the pen is to employ it in the religious sciences and its flight to any other field is a mere child's frolic. I, the child, in old age, have made the reed I call a pen run into the deserts of misguidance, and know not which of the wildernesses of Hell it shall ultimately take me to. Whenever this painful thought crosses my mind, a flame runs through my body. The only hope of this black record of mine being wiped out lies

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(1) Beginning of the well-known sura of the Koran supposed to be in praise of the Prophet.

(2) See supra.

(3) Letters.

(4) With ecstatic joy.

(5) Unfit and unaccomplished.

in the belief that Forgiveness itself is the cloud of mercy and kindness the Font of connivance, so that if a down-pour comes from that cloud and a splash arrives from that fountain, my black record as well as myself of the black deeds shall be washed perfectly clean. Else what I deserve is that that record be tied to my neck and with blackened face I be paraded far and near and then consigned to the dreary hell so that both the record and myself be consumed entirely."

The contents of the dîwân, as the poet says himself in a fragment, are sixty-three qasidas, six tarjis, one hundred and sixty-five couplets of mesnevi, two hundred fragments, five hundred and seventy ghazels, and three hundred and sixty quatrains.(1)

The qasîdas are mostly in praise of ʿAlâuddin Khalji,(2) a few are addressed to Qutbuddîn(3) Mubârak Shah, while another few are encomiums on some of the contemporary nobles, like Almâs-beg Ullugh Khan, Tâjuddin Dabîr, Hamîduddin, Nâsiruddin ʿArîz, etc. Some of these poems are evidently imitations of older masters,(4) but most of them are original in style and are perfect specimens of Khusrau's highest art. Among them are two poems, one written in the month of Ramazân(5) and the other on the occasion of the

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(1) The fragment is found in the British Museum MS. No. 25,807. f. 97. beg: عدد جنس قصاید کہ من آنجمعۃ ام
This MS., however, has only 56 qasidas. The India Off. MS. No. 1187 has full 63.

(2) 36, in fact of the 63.

(3) About 10.

(4) No. 33 (f. 358, I.O. MS. 1187) beg:
نو بہار امسال مارا روزہ فرماید ہمی ؛ گل چنان تر دامن از می لب نیالاید ہمی ؛

(5) Such are No. 8, f. 344 (written after Zahîr), No. 14 f. 348 (written after Abdul Wasi al-Jabali), No. 35 f. 360 (after Khâqânî), etc. The opening verses of Khusrau's odes, with the corresponding verses of these masters are:
(ع) کہ داد چون تو معشوق نگار و حایک دولبہ (خ)

(See ʿAufî II. 104)

Eid, and nothing can excel them in the quaintness of analogies, the beauty of imageries and the smoothness of rhythm. In the qasîda-i-ʿIdiyya he says:

"It is Eid, and the Sâḳî has poured the purified ruby into the cup to provide a sherbet for the thirsty fasters. Wine is the antidote for the sick, nay it is liquid life or dissolved sun put into the beaker. Wine is the fountain of life, nay it is the flowing stream of life's blood which conceals in itself the 'maʿjûn' of revivification.....In front of their houses sit the great men with wine and musicians, the wine coursing through their delicate bodies like life. The wine cooled like ice is fire quenched with water(1).....There are also scents, sweet as musk and heaps of roses and tulips and on all sides there are trays of delicious fruits and sweets, while a hundred kinds of syrups and drinks flavoured with musk and camphor have been prepared. Every one reclines in a cool spot, a fine garment on the body, fresh as a cloud and light as a rose-petal. The delicate-bodied fair ones have no clothes and their bodies are smeared with sandal, the cool sandal imparting them freshness and life."(2)

Of the six tarjîʿs, three are addressed to ʿAlâuddin Khalji, one is an elegy on the death of that monarch,(3) another is in praise of his brother, Almâs-beg and the sixth

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(1) The poem was evidently written in the early period of ʿAlâuddin's reign when wine was still an unforbidden luxury.

(2) Khusrau is evidently referring to handsome youth rather than to fair women.

(3) A fine poem. See supra. It begins:
این گنبد بلند عجب تند خانه است؛ بر پرندگان چه عجب آشیانه است
The Turkish poet, Ziya Pasha's Tarkîb-band seems to be a strange echo of this poem. It begins:
بو کارگاهِ صنع عجب در میخانه در؛ هر نقشی بر کتاب لدنن نشانه در؛
(See Gibb VI. 362.)

is another elegy written on the death of Nâsiruddin Mahmûd. The mesnevis contain a poem addressed to 'Alâuddin Khaljî on the occasion of Khizr Khan's marriage, while in another addressed to the same king the poet complains of the neglect shown to him and requests for royal favour.

The ghazels begin with a 'ḥamd' and occupy almost 417 folios. Here is a translation of the opening poem:(1)

"O Thou beyond our fancy's flight,
How can our sense Thee comprehend?
How can our halting human wit
To Thy great being's heights ascend?
Ay, if all men and birds and beasts
Be as the dust on Thy threshhold,
How can the dust of base concern
Thine noble garb of light enfold?
The turret high of Thy great might
Is far beyond the endless space:
How can the wingless bird of thought
To that eternal distance race?
Before Thy kingly unconcern,
A thousand martyrs like Husain,
E'en on the river's bank do thirst
And thirsty unto death remain!

From yon fair, heavenly garden where
The Holy Ghost e'en scarce may dwell
How can our faultful sense receive
A fragrant, life-inspiring smell?

Oft doth Thy kingly presence grace
The earthly throne of human hearts,
Yet how that presence could be felt
Through these benighted human arts?

Thine royal mercy's sign perceive
Some blessed ones to Mecca bound,
Yet pagan Khusrau naught beholds
But idols, idols all around!
Ay, let the spear of Thy disdain
Fall on a worthless slave like me!
Thine gifts in boundless measure rain
On those that Thine good servants be!(2)

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(1) I.O. MS. f. 407b. (No. 1187) beg: ای زخیل ما بروں در توخیال کی رسد
Prof. Habib has also given a translation of this poem and so I was reluctant to give mine here. But I made made it before I saw his translation and as the two are quite different I think mine will prove to be an interesting variant. (See Life & Works, p. 92).

(2) I have tried to retain as far as possible the metre as well as the spirit of the original in my translation, although at places the rendering is not very literal. The original scans as follows: —ᴗ ᴗ—|ᴗ—ᴗ—|—ᴗ ᴗ—
—ᴗ—

The quatrains are quite numerous and some of them are very fine.

The dîwân has never been printed or lithographed, although selections from it occur in the 'Kulliyât' lithographed in Lucknow. Manuscripts are numerous.

The Fifth Divan

Nihâyat-ul-Kamâl:

The fifth and the last collection of Khusrau's poems was made by him about the close of his life after the death of Ghiyâthuddin Tughlaq Shah and the accession to the throne of his son Muhammad Tughlaq. It is preceded by a very short introduction consisting of the praise of God and the Prophet and a eulogy of Nizâmuddin Auliya written in a highly ornate style, but making no reference to the collection itself. In fact even the name Nihâyat-ul-Kamâl is not mentioned and there are no introductory verses. The British Museum ms.(1) of the work contains twenty-two qasîdas, five tarjî's, four short mesnevis, a number of fragments and a collection of ghazels.

The first qasida is in praise of God, the second in praise of the Prophet and his companions, the third named Nâbit-un-Na't is a eulogy of Nizâmuddin Auliya, while the following five, four of which are named Khas Ashâr, Râh-i-Rihâi, 'Urf-ul-'Unfân and 'Ain-ul-'Ibar respectively are long poems in a moralising tone, out-lining the proper significance of love, the ideals of virtuous conduct, the pitfalls in the life of a man and so on. The rest of the qasîdas are panegyrics on Qutbuddîn Mubârak Shah, his successor Ghiyâthuddîn Tughlaq Shah and the latter's son Mohd. Tughlaq Shah, Prince Behrâm, Prince Ibrâhîm and some of the great men of the time. Two of these poems are especially interesting. One of them, named Sahîfatul Ausâf, addressed to Modh. Tughlaq describes the charms of Deogir,(2) while the

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(1) No: Add. 25,807.

(2) We have already availed ourselves of the contents of this poem. See supra. (B.M. ms. 25,807 f, 459b).

other addressed to Syed Tâjuddin is a long and vehement protest against a charge of disrespectfulness to the Prophet's family levelled against the poet by his opponents.(1) The fact that the poem is addressed to a Syed and is full of urgent and earnest appeal would suggest that the poet was in real trouble as a result of this presumably false accusation. He says:

"They have alleged that in the writings of this slave(2) there is a verse or two which may be construed to be defamatory to the Prophet's family. ... A suspicion there may be, no doubt, but it is not a certainty.(3) Why should a believer like me be persecuted for a mere suspicion?" He then swears by God, by the Prophet, the apostles, the koran, the noble muhâjirs and ansârs,(4) the prayer-carpet of his Sheikh and by all the saints that he had never intentionally uttered a word likely to wound the feelings of the Prophet's descendants. "And if," he continues, "I have, inadvertently, been guilty of an impudence, well God alone if free from error." He concludes with profuse excuses and asks forgiveness of God and man.

Of the Trajîs, one is an elegy on the death of Qutbuddin Mubârak Shah, two are panegyrics on Ullugh Khan, prince Junân (afterwards Mohd. Tughlaq), another is addressed to the same now king and describes the splendours of his coronation, while the fifth is a touching elegy on the death of his own son Hâjî who died of a painful disease.

The first mesnevi is a condolatory letter addressed to Tâjuddin who appears to have lost his son, his mother

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(1) B. M. ms. 25,807 f. 463.

(2) Rahî, like banda, often used humbly by writers for themselves.

(3) 'Shubh yaqînst', which shows that the charge was not quite baseless.

(4) The companions of the Prophet.

and a brother during a short space of time. The second is addressed to Qutbuddin, the third to Ghiyâthuddin on the completion of the Tughlaqabâd citadel, while the fourth is a reply to a letter of Tâjuddin Sipâhdâr son of Shamsuddin.

The mesnevis are followed by fragments some of which are interesting conundrums or riddles, a novel feature not found in other works. He says, for instance, of a razor: "What is that body held by two substances, animal and vegetable,(1) split in two and again joined together, its belly rent and a tongue in the belly, which performs the magical operation of converting an old man into a youth in a moment, and plunders sometimes musk, sometimes camphor and sometimes musk and camphor together. ... ?"

The Ghazels appear to be not entirely a new collection but simply a selection from those attached to the previous diwans with the addition of some new ones, two or three of which consist of alternate verses in Arabic and Persian. A number of quatrains follow, the last of which runs thus:

"My misdeeds have ruined me, O God, what shall I do?
The dark tresses of the beloved have blackened my face, what shall I do?
I hope Thou wilt forgive all my sins, but with the shame that Thou hast seen my sins, what shall I do?"

In this dîwân, too there are some qaṣîdas written in imitation of other poets, but, as he says in one of them, Khusrau wrote them simply to satisfy the curiosity of his friends who probably wanted to test the poet's prowess and to see how he replied to the famous poems of the famous masters.(2)

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(1) Referring to the wood and bone of which the handle is usually made.

(2) See No. 13. f.457b. written after Anwarî and beginning:
سزد کہ سجدہ بہوشش کواکب از تعظیم .
The corresponding poem of Anwari
begins as بحکم دعوتی نیچ وگواہی تقویم
(See S.O.S. ms. of Kulliyât).

B. THE HOSTORICAL MESNEWI

(1) QIRʾÂN-US-SA'DAIN

("The Conjunction of the two Auspicious Stars")

Qirʾân-us-Sa'dain, the first long poem in mesnevi form composed by Khusrau, was written, as we have seen above, at the request of Kai-Ḳobâd after the poet's return from Oudh where he had stayed with Khân-i-Jahân, the governor of Oudh, for two years. The poet completed it in Ramazân 688 H., at the age of thirty-six, after a hard labour of three months and was handsomely rewarded by the king for it.(1) Later on, when he was almost forty, Khusrau added another section to the poem to serve the purpose of both an introduction as well as a conclusion. He tells us in it that the number of the verses in the poem is 3944 and that as he had not counted them formerly the result had been a defalcation in the number at the hands of careless scribes, and so he thought it well to specify the number definitely.(2)

The poem, whose main theme is a quarrel between Boghra Khan, the son of Balban, and Kaiḳobâd, the son of the former who succeeded his grandfather to the throne of Delhi, and their meeting and reconciliation on the bank of the river Saru or Sarju, has been thoroughly analysed by Cowell in the J.A.S.B (1860, p.225 seq.) and translations of some interesting passages have been made by Elliot (iii 524 seq.), I do not, therefore, intend to go into any details here, but shall confine myself to a general survey of the work.(3)

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(1) Qirʾân-us-Sa'dain (Lucknow 1885) p.174. The poet gives the name here as قران نامۂ سعدین, but in the opening verse the name is قران السعدین (p.2). Another alternative name is . Cowell (p.238) gives the age as 37.

(2) See pp. 179 من چو نہ کردم عددش از نخست ۔ کم نشد و سر نہ زیادہ نماندش درست

(3) I have, moreover, availed myself of most of the historical information contained in the poem in the second chapter. Elliot's translations are interesting, but unfortunately often faulty.

Khusrau, as he says himself in the supplementary section referred to above, had long cherished the ambition of writing a master-piece in mesnevi form. He had trodden assiduously and with remarkable success in the foot-prints of the famous qasida writers, and the composers of ghazels. Mesnevi was still a region unexplored by him. He was alive to the greatness of this particular art and was fully conscious of the great genius of its most renowned exponent, Nizâmi of Ganja.(1) But he was at the same time conscious of his own adaptable genius and wanted to match his strength with the old giant, so that when Kaiḳobâd requested him to write the story of his meeting with his father, he found an opportunity of trying his hand at the new game.(2) Yet Khusrau's love of originality and his contempt of mere plagiarism in thought or style, urged him to infuse a new spirit into the old art to seek out for himself a style both original and striking.(3) He started with industry and care to piece together a series of descriptive poems into a united whole. His mesnevi, when it was completed was like a picture composed of figures painted separately and independently and then put together, with a suitable background, to represent the scene the artist wanted to depict. It was a difficult task, and it is wonderful that he has succeeded so well. There may, of course, be here and there, a figure that is out of place, another that has been too much elaborated, still another

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(1) Qiran-us-Sa'dain p.180 seq. بود در اندیشه‌ام صد گاه کز دل دانندهٔ حکمت بناه
چند صفت گویم و آنش دهم ؛ مجمع اوصاف خطابش دهم ؛

(2) Khusrau denies vehemently that he wrote the poem for any monetary reward. Eternal fame, he avers was his only motive. (Q.S. p.181). He, of course, got a reward from the king and accepted it 'for a pearl cannot be thrown back to the ocean."

(3) طرز سخن را روشِ نو دهم ؛ سکهٔ این ملک بخسرو دهم ؛ نو کنم اندازهٔ رسم کهن ؛ پس روی پیشروان سخن

that has been given an unnecessary prominence, but on the whole, there is a harmony and a unity that only a very skilful artist could impart to the picture.

The theme of the poem was not a very attractive one. An unnatural quarrel between a father and his son had very little of romance or heroic glitter in it, and the poet wanted to hide the defect by the wonderful pen-pictures that abound in the work. He says himself: "As the subject had little of interest in it and its skeleton was devoid of life, I was forced to write descriptions so that I have almost lost sight of the object of the poem. On its face I painted the mole of artistic affectation, so that perchance it may appear beautiful."(1)

Khusrau seems to have been criticised by his contemporaries rather severely on the production of this poem. He himself had, moreover, grave misgivings about its worth, but any impartial reviewer would admit that the poem is a fine piece of artistic poetry, as original as it is vigorous. It is, perhaps, tiresome as a story, but its component parts are full of charm and interest, and are in some cases of great aesthetic and historic importance. Such are, for instance, the descriptions of Delhi, the punishment of the Mongols, the triumphal arches, the singing girls, the musical instruments, the presents exchanged between Boghra Khan and Kaiḳobâd, the dishes on the royal table, and the different kinds of boats used.

The most original feature, however, of the poem is the introduction of abyât-i-silsila to serve as headings for the different chapters and of a number of ghazels each of which echoes the sentiment of the chapter immediately preceding and serves to relieve the monotony of the

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(1) Q.S. pp. 192-193. چون سخن از لطف نشانی نداشت؛ کالبدش صورت جانی نداشت

mesnevi.(1)

The poem is written in the hexametric Sarî' (سریع) the metre of the Makh-zan-ul- Asrâr of Nizâmî and the Matla'-ul- Anwâr of the poet himself.

The poem has been highly praised by most of the critics and in fact it is, in some respects at least, the finest mesnevi written by Khusrau. It was lithographed with a marginal commentary in Lucknow in 1885. The edition is complete and tolerably correct. A second lithographed edition was published recently in Aligarh.

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(1) Khusrau was certainly the first poet to introduce true ghazels into a mesnevi and thus to take away some of the sing-song monotony of the metre. Gibb ascribed the credit to Sheykhi, but that Turkish poet died in 855 H, 130 years after the death of Khusrau. (See History of the Ottoman Poetry I. 309-310). The ghazels have been selected from the various diwans of the poet.

HISTORICAL MESNEVIS (Continued)

(2) Miftâh-ul- futûh

(The Key to Success or the Initial Victories).

Miftah-ul-futuh,[1] the sedond of Khusrau's historical mesnevis, was completed by the poet on the 2nd. of Jumad II in the year 690 H and describes four victories achieved by Jelaluddin Firoz Khalji within the course of one year. The poem, comparatively a small one, forms as we have already seen, part of the poet's third diwan, the Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl,[2] but its length and importance make it pre-eminently an independent poem and, as such, worth a separate consideration. Yet as Sir John Elliot has given a full analysis with translations of extracts[3] and as I have already utilised most of the material contained in the poem, I shall confine myself here to a few general remarks.

The mesnevi, like the 'Ashîqa is written in the hexametric hazaj (mahdhûf) and like the Qirân-us- Sa'dain has its rubrics in verse.[4] The style is extremely simple and presents a striking contrast to the other two mesnevis. It is more like the plain, matter-of-fact style of certain short mesnevis scattered through Khusrau's dîwâns. But there are here and there descriptive passages of quaint charm, beautiful in their simplicity. Such is, for instance, the description of the Raja's palace at Jhâin, or

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(1) The poet gives the name and date himself in the concluding verses.
زده فتحش می اندرجام کرده ؛ که مفتاح الفتوحش نام کرده

(2) See supra.

(3) Elliot (iii 534-44). The translations, however, are far from very accurate.

(4) The first runs: گفتا رو در ثنای خداوند داد گر ؛ کو باز میکند در فیروزی ظفر

the description of the festive arrangements made for the reception of the king in Delhi on his victorious return from his campaigns.

The poem opens with the praise of God, and the Prophet and a long panegyric on Firoz Khalji. It then describes that king's ascension on the throne on the 3rd of Jumad II in 689 H, and his successes against Malik Jhujhu, the rebellious governor of Karra, the rajas of Oudh, the Mongols and the raja of Jhain. The poet narrates the events with scrupulous exactness. He says himself: "When I began this poem and prepared my pen to write, I adorned it (with various artifices), for that is indispensible in writing verse, but when I thought of adding what was untrue, truth came and held my hand. My mind also did not relish the idea of mixing lies with truths, for although false exaggerations may impart charm to a poem, truth is an admirable thing."

Khusrau concludes the poem with prayers for the king and a hope that the king would recognise the worth of his service which should earn for him an eternal fame.(1) He had, he adds, only three things in mind when he wrote the poem, viz., to show his gratefulness to the beneficant monarch, to leave behind a lasting relic of himself, and, through the everlasting name of the king, earn an immortality for himself.

The poem is found in most of the manuscripts of Khusrau's Kulliyâts.

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(1) Elliot (iii 543) gives, in his translation, another passage after this conclusion containing the praises of Alauddin Khalji. That passage has nothi ng to do with this poem, but forms part of a separate poem.

3. THE 'ASHÎQA

(The Story of Khizr Khan and Dawal-rani)

The 'Ashîqa or 'Ishqiyya, as it is sometimes called,(1) forms the third book of the series of historical mesnevis composed by Khusrau. The poem of which the central theme is the romantic loves and the tragic fate of Khizr Khan and the beautiful princess Devaldî, was finished by the poet in the month of Zulq'ada 715 H.,(2) but later on, in the reign of Ghiyâthuddin Tughlaq another chapter was added to it.(3) The poet had first brought the story to a close with the happy marraige of Khizr Khan to Devaldî. When, however, the prince had been slain by his merciless brother Mubârak Shah who in his turn had succumbed to the treacherous sword of his Parwârî favourite Khusrau Khan, Khusrau took up the narrative again and finished it, by the addition of 319 lines to the former 4200, with the description of 'Alâuddin's illness, his estrangement from his son, the latter's confinement in the fortress of Gwaliyar, Kafur's treachery in blinding him, Mubârak Shah's unkind and monstrous demand,(4) and the final murder of the unfortuante prince together with his brothers Shâdî Khan and Farîd Khan.(5)

The mesnevi is altogether different in style and spirit from the Qirân-us- Sa'dain. The poet had in the latter to make an epic out of a silly indident and had to call to his

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(1) Another name is Khizar Khan-o- Dawalrânî, and still another (Manshûr-i-Shâhî, as thepoet says :

عجب الله که از عون الهی ؛ بپایان آمد این منشور شاهی ؛

(2) 'Ashîqa (I. O. ms. 1215 f. 158b).

(3) Khusrau mentions no date of this addition but it was certainly made after the death of Mubârak Shah, as the poet could not conceivably have called him cruel (بی مهر) in his lifetime.)

(4) For the surrender of Devaldi, which, of course, Khizr Khan refused with due contempt.

(5) See Supra.

aid all the various artifices of the Persian verse to give it a touch of the picturesque, the romantic and the heroic. His style in it is, consequently, elegant but affected, picturesque but elaborate. In the 'Ashîqa, the poet found a much more congenial and promising subject to try his skill on. It was moreover, as a labour of love that Khusrau undertook to write the romance. The unhappy prince had a charming personality. He was brave, handsome and generous, a great patron of letters and a disciple of the saint Nizâmuddin Auliya. Khusrau had, naturally enough, the utmost esteem and affection for this accomplished prince, so that when he was one day called to his presence and the prince gave him a rough draft of the story of his love for the Rajput princess requesting him to turn it into verse, Khusrau started the work with eager industry.(1) He had already written the five mesnevis of the Khamsa and had consequently acquired a proficiency and skill in writing this form of verse such as has rarely been equalled. Yet it took him a little more than four months to complete the poem,(2) a fact which shows how patiently and with what loving care Khusrau wrote it.

The metre selected by the poet for this mesnevi is the hexametric hazaj (mahdhûf)(3) that is continued throughout the poem without any variations. There are no rubrics in verse and although there are numerous passages of amatory verse (ghazel) they are not in the true lyric style.

The poem opens, as usual, with the praise of God, who is aptly described in this case as the Creator of Beauty and

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(1) I. O. ms. of Kulliyat No: 1187: f. 636.

(2) Ashiqa (I.O.ms. 1215) f. 158: بقدر چار ماه و چند روزی ؛ فروزان شد جهان گیتی فروزی ؛

(3) i.e. مفاعیلن مفاعیلن فعولن

(See Blochmann: Prosody p.31).

Love, that of the Prophet and the saint Nizâmuddin.[1] This is followed by a panegyric on 'Alâuddin Khaljî, whom the poet gives bits of advice with a candour and a courage truly astonishing, warning him against the evil consequences of tyranny, injustice and indulgence in wine. The poet then turns to the country of Hindustan, describes briefly its conquest by the Mohammadans, gives short, but wonderfully accurate and valuable pen-sketches of the kings that had reigned before the time of 'Alâuddin; and praises the language of India. He then sings of the calm and prosperity, peace and unity of belief[2] prevailing in India during the reign of 'Alâuddin, mentions his successes against the Mongols, and his conquests in the south of India. Then the story commences with the conquest of Gujrât by Ulugh Khan and the capture of Kanwlâdî, her longing for her daughter Dewaldî, the expedition sent by the king to bring that princess, her arrival in the royal palace and the commencement of Khizr Khan's love for her. The story is well-known and can be told in a few words.

According to Khusrau the princess loved Khizr Khan as intensely as he loved her and the two confided their secret to certain confidants who helped them to communicate with and see each other frequently. The mother of the prince, however, disapproved of their love and persuaded the king to send Devaldî to a different residence in the Red Palace.[3] She at the same time arranged Khizr Khan's marriage with her brother Alp Khan's daughter and the marriage was duly

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(1) The opening verse is: سرنامه بنام آن خداوندی که دلها را بجویان داد پیوند

(2) Among the Mohammadans, of course, although some of the verses would seem to imply that Christians, Jews, and Magians were not tolerated: (Vide p.

(3) Qasr-i- Lâl. Alauddin's usual residence was the Qasr-i- hazar-sutun in Siri.

celebrated in spite of the disinclination of the prince. Khizr Khan, however, could not forget Devaldi and pined for her, so that his mother alarmed at his grief at last consented to his marriage with his beloved, and the two lovers were happily united.

When 'Alâuddin fell ill, Kâfûr as we have seen above, managed to exile Khizr Khan to Gwaliyar where his sole solace and comfort was the sweet company of his faithful wife, Devaldî. Nothing could excel the tender devotion with which she nursed her husband when the tyrant Kâfûr blinded him, and her grief and sorrow for his sad plight was unbounded. When, after the assasination of Kâfûr, Mubârak Shah ascended the throne of Delhi, he soon managed to get hold of a base excuse to end the life of Khizr Khan — the latter's refusal to hand over to him his wife Devaldî. The prince fell beneath the sword of a monstrous slave to be wept and mourned by his aged mother and his devoted wife and was buried in a tower in the fortress.(1) Khusrau is silent as to the fate of Devaldi. Elliot's translation of the narrative here is quite misleading and his conclusion that Devaldî was wounded while other ladies of the harem were slaughtered are utterly wrong. The poet says nothing of the sort. Khusrau, as usual, concludes with verses in which he moralises on the affairs of the world and speaks wistfully of his own life spent in the pursuit of poetry.

The romance is unique in Persian literature in more than one respect. In the first place it has for its theme a contemporary event. All the characters in it are real persons whom the poet knew familiarly, and he had seen with his own eyes all the incidents he describes. The story, secondly,

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(1) f. 148 (ms. No.1215).

بجی مندر کہ بر بجی زان حصار است ؛ شہی را کاندران منزل قرار است ۔

This would show that there was the tomb of some king there already.

belongs to the domain of history, not mythology which latter was the favourite subject of the former writers, and yet it has all the charm, all the romance and all the piquancy of the older stories. The facts of history that have been narrated with a wonderfully exact fidelity, have been woven round with such a rich mass of fresh fancies and variegated imagery that the whole forms a peerless specimen of the master-pieces of romantic literature. The whole poem, thirdly, breathes of patriotism, the artist's love for the land of his birth. It is fragrant with the smell of the kewra, the karna, the champak and the hundreds of sweet Indian flowers and spices, and is luminous with the bright Indian sun and the pale, cool,moonlight. The poet sprinkles here and there words of Indian origin that blend beautifully with the Persian words and gave to the poem a distinction and a peculiar elegance.(1) It is itself like the Indian beauties when, as Khusrau says, are not like the pink and white beauties of Khallukh and Yaghma, having colour without sweetness, cold as a block of ice, but have grace and elegance, warmth and charm.(2)

Fourthly, the small tales with which the poet illustrates his points are original and instructive and at the same time very interesting. Throughout the poem there are passages of beautiful verse, full of pathos, of love, of passion and wistful longing that can scarcely be matched even for the pages of Nizâmi's famous Khamsa and the poet shows a knowledge of the working of human hearts, the mysterious ways of young persons in love, and the jealous

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(1) e.g. Sanghâsan (a palanquin), the names of Indian cloths like Devgiri etc., the names of Indian musical instruments etc.
In fact the poet says that Khizr Khan's draft of the story contained many Hindu words and phrases which he omitted in the poem as they would not have gone well with Persian.

(2) Ashiqa.

care of parents, that is really astonishing. My only regret is that there is no space here to give a few specimens from the poem.(1) Elliot has translated most of the passages that are of historical importance, although, like all other of his translations, they are often very incorrect.

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(1) See, for instance, the passage where Devaldi comforts herself by the thought that she is still young and beautiful ; that descriptive of her grief when the prince was blinded (f. 139. ms. No. 1215); that where the first meeting of the lovers is described and so on.

4. The Nuh Sipihr

(The Nine Skies)

Nuh Sipihr, the fourth historical mesnevi by Khusrau, was completed in the month of Jumâd I. 718 H, when the poet was almost 67 years of age,[1] and celebrates the glories of Mubârak Shah Khalji's reign. The poem is divided into nine parts of unequal lengths each being named a 'sipihr' peculiar to one of the nine heavenly bodies, headed by an introductory verse and concluded by a ghazel. It contains 4509 hemistiches.[2]

The poem opens with the praise of God and the Prophet, a description of the latter's mi'râj or ascension and a long eulogy of Nizâmuddin Auliya wherein the poet emphasises the necessity of a religious and spiritual guide for every novice on the path of virtue and describes his own felicity and success through the spiritual guidance of his 'pîr.'[3]

Sipihr I. This is followed by a panegyric on Mubârak Shah and a description of the incident that occasioned the composition of the mesnevi.[4] Then follows a description of the king's ascension on the throne on the 24th of Muharram 716 H., and the favourable positions of the stars at that

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(1) Cf. Elliot iii 566, and Shibli II p. 141. Both of them give the age as 65. But as the poem was written in 718 and Khusrau was born in 651, the correct figure is 67. He says himself, moreover, that he was nearer seventy than sixty when he finished the poem :

(عمر از شصت به هفتاد و قریب)

(2) مصراع not full verses or couplets.

(3) See supra.

(4) See Supra.

auspicious moment.[1] The poet then turns to the first campaign of Mubârak Shah against Râghû, the rebellions and protentious minister of Rai Râm of Deogir, and concludes the first sipihr with the return of Khusrau Khan to the royal camp. The metre of this sipihr is the octametric mutaqârib (mahdhûf).[2]

Sipihr II. The Second Sipihr opens with an account of Mubarak Shah's buildings, the completion of the New Palace constructed by his father, 'Alâuddin, and the erection of a large congregational mosque.[3] There follows a long and detailed description of Khusrau Khan's campaign against Tilang and Warrangal, his victories and his triumphal entry into Delhi after the successful termination of the campaign.[4] The mosque was now completed and a lofty pillar of polished red stone was attached to it.[5] The poet then sings the praises of Delhi, declares its superiority to Baghdad, Cairo, Khorasan, Tirmidh Tabriz, Sipahan, Bukhara, and Khwarizm and concludes with a few verses of Sâḳî Nâmeh and a ghazel. The sipihr is written in a very running and pleasant metre, the octametric mutaqârib (sâlim), an unusual one for a mesnevi.[6]

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(1) Cf. Qirânus-Sa'dain.

(2) فعولن فعولن فعولن فعل twice. See Blochmann Prosody p. 61.

(3) Professor Habib calls the mosque Masjid-i-Mîrî (p.60). No mosque of this name or in fact any mosque ascribed to Mubârak Shah is in existence now.

(4) See supra and cf. Elliot iii 558-561.

(5) I.O. ms. 1187 f. 707b. Apparently no trace of this pillar exists now.

(6) فعولن فعولن فعولن فعولن twice. Cf: Blochmann's Prosody p. 60. Cf. Haft Âsmân p.5, where only one form of the octametric mutaqarib is described to be used for mesnevi, (i.e. Mahghuf or maqsûr).

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The IIIrd. Sipihr is, perhaps, the most interesting of the nine. It consists almost entirely of the praises of India and contains valuable bits of information about its climate, its flowers, its birds and other animals, its sciences, its religion and its languages. The poet is at pains to prove India's superiority to Khorasan and is very enthusiastic about the land of his birth. "Why," says he, "some may ask me, all this preference for India? It is because India is the land of my birth and training and also because its ruler is a mighty king like Mubârak Shâh." Yet a little moved, perhaps, by the general trend of his compatriots' affection for the lands of their origin, Persia and Turkestan, he offers the following excuse for lavishing all this wealth of poetic imagery on India: "What praise can there be for what has already been so highly praised? Does a houri need the services of a tire-woman? Praise is an art only when by means of it you turn the jarring noise of a caravan bell into a melody of the organ."(1) The metre of the sipihr, again, is a very difficult and uncommon one. In fact, as he claims himself, no poet had written mesnevi in that metre before his time, and as far as I am aware none has written since. It is the hexametric maṭwî form of the Rajaz, that imparts a peculiar earnestness and charm to the verse.(2)

Khusrau first starts to give seven arguments to prove that India is paradise, and shows its superiority to other

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(1) I.O. ms. 1187. f. 709b.

(2) مفتعلن مفتعلن مفتعلن twice. Khusrau says:

"A strange form has this pearl-like verse, for an uncongenial metre has been filled with pearls... Who can race in this course but me? who can relate stories in this metre except me?... This new metre I have invented myself and from my own mind have I poured jewels into it." (I.O. ms. f. 43b.).

countries in point of climate, flowers and fruits. He then shows the superiority of Indians in science and wisdom over all other nations. "I know," he says, "that in this land lie concealed wisdom and ideas beyond compute. Greece has been famous for its philosophy, but India is not devoid of it. All branches of philosophy, if one examines carefully, are found here. Logic, astrology, kalâm[1] — in fact every science, except 'faqr'[2] is found. ... Physics, mathematics, astronomy, divination of the past and the future are known. ... In divinity (metaphysics الٰہیّات)alone the Hindus are confused, but, then, so are all the other peoples. Though they do not believe in our religion, many of their beliefs are like ours. They believe, for instance, in the unity and eternity of God, His power to create after nothing-ness, etc., and so are better than the Dualists or those who believe in father and son, the anthropomorphists, the Sabians,[3] the materialists[4] or the Mushabbih.[5] They worship. no doubt, stones, beasts, plants and the sun, but they recognise that these things are creations of God and adore them simply because their forefathers did so." He then gives ten instances of the Indians' superiority. 1) Knowledge and learning is common and wide-spread among them. 2) They can pronounce and speak all languages of the world clearly. 3) Learned men from all parts of the world have come from time to time to study in India, while no Brahman has ever travelled to any place outside India. Abû Ma'shar,[6] the famous astronomer,

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(1) He means probably metaphysics.

(2) This science, he says, is peculiar to Islam. We can render faqr by 'sufism' or 'asceticism'.

(3) Akhtariyân, or the star-worshippers.

(4) Unsuriyân.

(5) Those who liken God to visible things.

(6) Of Balkh 886. See Nicholson, Lit. Hist. of the Arabs p. 361.

for example, came to India and learnt his science for ten years at Benares. 4) The science of 'hindsa' and the numerical system originated in India. Hindsa was undoubtedly invented by a Brahman named Âsa, whence Hind-âsa shortened into Hindasa.(1) 5) The wonderful book of wisdom Kalîla and Damna (Panj Tantar) was composed in India. The book has been translated into Persian, Turki, Tezi (Arabic) and Dari. ... 6) The game of chess is an invention of India. 7) Chess and Damna, both of Indian origin, have become popular with all other nations. 8) Indian music, the fire that burns heart and soul, is superior to the music of any other country. Foreigners, even after a stay of thirty or forty years in India, cannot play a single Indian tune correctly. 9) Indian music charms not only men but beasts also. Deer have been hypnotised and hunted simply by music. 10) Finally there is in no other land an enchanter, a wizard in poetry like Khusrau, albeit an humble admirer of the king.

Khusrau then makes some very interesting observations about the languages of India. He says that he knows several languages. Of these Arabic has a well-formulated grammar. Turkish also has a grammar written chiefly for the benefit of officials for no one ever learns Turkish, Rûmi, or Dari for the acquirement of knowledge.(2) In Persian, no one has yet formulated a grammatical system, and he would himself have done so but for the fact that it would be a thankless job for every one knows Persian well and does not require to study its grammar. Three languages are very important, viz., 1) Arabic, although it is a hard language and even

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(1) The derivation is interesting. By 'Hindasa', Khusrau apparently means arithmetic and not geometry which is more correctly rendered by 'Handasa'.

(2) This shows that in Khusrau's time Turkish was not considered to be a literary language.

a clever man finds it difficult to acquire proficiency in it. 2) The Persian of Persia, 'eloquently sweet with the flavour of Shiraz'. 3) Turkish Persian, i.e. Qaniqly, Oighur, and Ghuzz that originated in Qipchaq and Yamak and spread in other lands 'gaining lustre like the moon.' After a few remarks about the spread and intermixture of languages, he turns to India, where, he says, the language originally was Hindûi.(1) With the advent of the Ghuris and the Turks who spoke Persian that language was learnt by all and sundry. All languages have some peculiar merit and charm, although, of course, Arabic, being the language of the Koran, holds a unique position. "Now in India every province has a peculiar idiom for the expression of various thoughts.(2) There is Sindhi, Lahori, Kashmiri, Kabari, Dhur-Samundri,(3) Tilangi, Gujari, Ma'bari, Gouri, Bengali, and Oudhi, but in Delhi and all around in its suburbs the language is the same Hindui that has been current here for all forms of speech since olden times.(4) Then there is another language, used preferably by Brahmans, unknown to the multitude and named Sanskrit since ancient days. It is known only to Brahmans and even all Brahmans have not a full knowledge of this (difficult) tongue,(5) for it has strange forms of grammatical irregularities in its orthography, syntax and literature. They have four religious books which serve

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(1) Elliot iii 562 translates this passage, but his translation is hopelessly corrupt here.

(2) Perhaps the language of Kaber.

(3) i.e. The language of Dharvasamudra.

(4) This remark is very important and requires special attention. Cf. Elliot who has missed the sense altogether. The poet says clearly:

... دہلی و پیرامنش اندرہمہ جا ۔ این ہم ہندیست کز ایام کہن ۔ عامہ بکار است بہر گونہ سخن ۔

(5) Elliot iii 563 "A Brahman knows it, but a Brahmani woman does not know a word of it," which is absurd.

برہمنش داند و ہر برہمنی ۔ نیز ندارد خبر از آنش سخن ۔

(6) 'Ilal (pl. of 'Illat, literally an infirmity).

as the guiding principle for all their actions.[1] These are called 'beds' and certain stories of gods, although like the 'bed'[2] they bear no fruit. All other stories and romances of theirs, their books, letters and documents that require elegance of diction, and display of skill are written and construed, in this language, by the Brahmans and other cultured scholars.[3] This language, pure as a pearl, is inferior to Arabic but is superior to Dari."

(I.O. ms. 1187. f. 718). (آلسنت زبانی مصنف دردری؛ کمتر از عربی و برتر از دری ؛

Some curious accounts of Indian animals and their sagacity follow this. There are the talking birds, like the parrot and the magpie (sharak), other birds whose cries betoken events, the crow for instance, about whose speech several volumes have been written; the peacock, the wonderful bird which does not pair in the natural way, a fluid from the eye of the male swallowed by the female being sufficient for fertilisation,[4] and other birds who have been trained to perform wondrous tricks, horses trotting to music, goats performing balancing feats, the extremely manlike monkey and the elephant so sagaciously human in its ways. The poet

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(1) چار کتاب بدین مذهبان ؛ کاصل عمل شد بقبول و روش ان ؛ Elliot iii 563: —"which they are constantly in the habit of repeating.

(2) The reed. He means they are useless — for a believer, of course.

(3) This is, as far as I can make out, the sense of the original, which is not very explicit here. Elliot's translation is certainly absurd.
هر چه دگر قصه و افسانه شان ؛ یا کتب و نامه چو پروانه شان ؛ آنچه تعلق بعبارت زنگی ؛ دارد و آنش نه گزیر گزی
حرف وی آنچ بود از بر هندان ؛ وز ادب آموخته دانش وران ؛

(4) This statement of Khusrau excited good deal of controversy amongst his admirers. See (Majâlis-ul-Nafâis of Nawâ'i J.A. 1861. 329) how Jami and Nawâ'i discussed the statement and how Jâmî who was inclined to credit it was convinced of its improbability by a timely incident.

says about the lore of birds' and animals' speech:
"I had learnt the science to such an extent that I could understand birds and beasts. I had also experienced how the gods tell news about one to others through them. In fact I saw such mysteries that if I were to explain them I shall cram two volumes. But as this lore is banned by the Prophet's religion, I closed my ears to those evil talks."

He then gives some instances of magic and sorcery as practised in India, and concludes: "All this is sorcery and as such, unreal and eerie,(1) but there is one thing of which you cannot deny the reality — the dying of Hindus out of devotion either with a sword or with fire, a woman dying willingly for her dead (husband) and the man for an idol or a rich man. This is, no doubt, forbidden in Islam, but behold what a noble thing it is! If the law permitted it, many a blessed one would die eagerly like that. . ."(2)

The sipihr concludes with an account of the defeat and capture of Harpal deo and the festivities on the triumphal return of the royal armies from Arangal.

The Fourth Sipihr, written in hexametric ramal (mahdhûf),(3) is consecrated to Jupiter. It opens with a beautiful description of a morning when Iqbâl (Fortune) visits the poet and exhorts him to write advices for his friends. He starts to do so, and with his characteristic frankness, addresses the king, the heir-apparent, the maliks and other officials,

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(1) Asfûn-o-afsâna.

(2) See Elliot iii 5634 for the magical feats, although his translation is ridiculously confused at places.

(3) فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلات cf. Blochmann 43.

the soldiers and the civilians. The sipihr ends with a ghazel.

The Fifth Sipihr is consecrated to Bihram, the hunter of the sky and is composed in the hexametric Khafîf (makhbûn and mahdhûf)[1]. Beginning with a glowing enconium on India's winter, the siphir, describes a hunting trip of the king and contains a highly artistic dialogue between the royal bow and arrow which beginning in mutual compliments ends in a hot and vituperative quarrel that is ultimately stopped by the chief armour-bearer[2] of the king. A Sâḳî Nâmeh, followed by a ghazel, ends the sipihr.

In the Sixth Sipihr, dedicated to the sun, the poet employs the hexametric hazaj (maqṣûr or mahdhûf)[3] and describes very picturesquely the birth and early education of Prince Mohammad, the son of Mubârak Shah on Thursday, the 23rd of Rabi I 718 H., and prophesies great things for the august baby. A rather long Sâḳî Nâmeh and a ghazel bring the sipihr to a close.

The Seventh Sipihr, composed in the hexametric Ramal (maqṣûr)[4] is ascribed to Venus and so the poet aptly enough mentions in it the splendours of spring and the new year's day, the festivities on the birth of Prince Muhammad[5], the gorgeous arches and pavilions with paintings in bright colours, the beautiful dancing girls, Persian and Indian[6], the 'jashan'

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(1) فاعلاتن مفاعلن فعلن twice. Cf. Blochmann 58.

(2) Sar-salih = apparently to Sar-silahdar.

(3) مفاعیلن مفاعیلن فعولن twice. Cf. Blochmann 31.

(4) فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلن twice. Cf. Ibid 43.

(5) This sipihr is thus really a continuation of the preceding one.

(6) The description is very picturesque. The Indian girls, especially with sandaled and bejewelled foreheads, pearls filling the partings of their heads, diamond pendants in their noses, clad in fine Deogiri, present a charming picture.

attended by all the nobles of the realm, and wine and musical instruments.

In the Eighth Sipihr the poet employs the hexametric hazaj (Akhrab, maqbûz and mahdhûf).(1) The sipihr dedicated to the planet mercury, is a rather tiresome but instructive account of the game of Chaugân as played by the king and a dialogue between the stick and the ball, the latter posing as a lover. Some passages of the dialogue are tenderly passionate and are reminiscent of similar passages in the Majnun -o- Leyla. The sipihr concludes with a Sâkî Nâmeh and a ghazel.

The last and the Ninth Sipihr, consecrated to the moon, is in the hexametric ramal (Makhbûn and mahdhûf).(2) The moon, says the poet, is so near the earth, that he may rise up to it and remove her rust with the brightness of his poetry. He then describes a visit paid him by Mercury and how that planet acknowledged his superiority. He then speaks of the excellence of poetry and boasts of the high rank achieved by the poets of India of that age.(3) Of himself particularly he says: "The proof (of the excellence of my verse) is this that only an attractive poetry can catch the imagination of the world like the sun and the moon. For as it is good, the multitude as well as the elite are rapt in its enjoyment. One copies a ghazel, another memorises it and a third solaces himself with it in his griefs. ... In the present age amongst the Persians only two poets of note have appeared: Sa'dî and Humâm, both of whom are perfect adepts in ghazel writing. But if you look for other branches of poetry you will find

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(1) مفعولُ مفاعلنْ فعولنْ twice. Blochmann pp.32-33.

(2) فاعلاتنْ فاعلاتنْ فعلنْ twice. Blochmann 44.

(3) See Supra.

that their Qasaids[1] are what they are[2] and I need hardly speak of other forms. My own poetry, however, is not bad. If there were any other nightingale in those countries, the world would have known of it. But as there is none, their roses do not smell. When thus we have disposed of the poets of Persia, let us drink to the glory of Delhi and this flowing magic!"[3] The poet concludes with excuses to the king for the faults in the poem, and thanks God for having spared him to complete it.[4] He gives here also the date of the composition and the number of verses in the poem.

The mesnevi is certainly a great master-piece. The "old parrot of India"[5] gives in it some of the sweetest melodies that ever flowed from his lyre. The prospect of a high reward and more than that the thought that this was probably the last great poem he would live to write goaded the poet to do his best. He does actually pour out in it the pearls preserved in "the bony casket replete with many a divine secret."[6] The poem is full of a glow of satisfaction, a pride for the land of his birth, the glory of its monarch, and the triumph of his own genius. He handles historical facts like poetic fancies and knits them together with such fidelity, such skill and such a perfect blending that an epic looks like a romance. The ghazels, written specially for the poem, are fine lyrics. The innovation of splitting

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(1) Shi'r, which Khusrau almost invariably uses in the sense of a qasida.

(2) He means 'are common place, and ordinary.'

(3) By 'the flowing magic' he means his own poetry.

(4) He calls the poem here Sultan Nameh, a title under which it has been described in some catalogues.
تا بد ربارج لوک خامہ ؛ بسم این زیور سلطان نامہ ؛

(5) He calls himself by that name in the poem. (S.I.):

(6) Ibid (S. 6): خدایا جو خسرو درین بوستان ؛ کہن طوطی شد رہندوستان

the poem into several parts with different metres is an extremely happy idea. It serves to impart freshness and originality to each part, and so although one may admit, perhaps, that the various parts of the poem look disconnected and independent, it is cruel to describe the poem as "a formless assortment of miscellaneous odds and ends, a painfully elaborate doxology. ..."(1)

The poem, in fact, is replete with things of immense historical and sociological interests and may safely be claimed to be a composition unique in its style, spirit and merit in the whole range of Persian literature — a poem which would amply repay a careful study and would be appreciated much better after a thorough perusal even by cynically pedantic critics.

The poem has never been published, but manuscripts exist in several libraries.(2)

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(1) Prof. Habib p.67.

(2) I have utilised I.O. mss. Nos. 1186, 1187 and

5. THE TUGHLAQ NAMEH

Khusrau, according to several reliable authorities, wrote a fifth historical mesnevi, detailing the events of the short reign of Ghiyâthuddin Tughlaq Shah.[1] The poet, as we know, lived to see the death of that monarch and the coronation of his son and heir Muhammad Tughlaq, and so it is very likely that he did commence to write a history of Tughlaq Shah's reign to complete the series — to compose one more master-piece before death sealed for ever the lips which old age and vicissitudes of life had failed to keep back from singing. But unfortunately the poem has apparently been lost to the world. That the poem was left incomplete is clear from what Badaoni says about the emperor Jahangir ordering Hayâti, a poet of his court, to complete it, although it is not known whether Hayâtî actually performed the by no means easy task.

A copy of the mesnevi was supposed to be in possession of a gentleman in Delhi, but has evidently disappeared. The latest rumour is that it has found its way to Hyderabad.

The loss of the Tughlaq Nâmeh is great not so much from a historical point of view as from the literary stand-point. Tughlaq Shah's reign was too brief to be of any great importance, but the poem, the last of the great master's compositions, would have provided a valuable specimen of the rich and matured verse of Khusrau's old age.

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(1) See Haft Iqûm (under Delhi), where Amîn Razi gives the number of verses in the Tughlaq Nâmeh as 3000; Firishta 1,132, who says the mss. of the work were rare in his time; Badaon I 225; Haji Khalifa (Flugel)

THE KHAMSA

In his later career Khusrau started to write a replica to Nizâmî's Khamsa[1] that had caught the fancy of all the contemporary poets and scholars, and had acquired an extraordinary fame in the eastern lands. The old master, taking for his model the Shâh nâmeh and the Yûsuf-o-Zuleykha of Firdausi, had produced these five poems with such industry and care and had enriched them with such a wealth of original conceits, quaint similes and metaphors, picturesque and melodious phrases and vigorous expressions as had rendered it one of the most valuable contributions to Persian poetry, and it was, consequently, not an easy task for even a poet of Khusrau's genius to reply to it successfully. In fact, Khusrau was fully conscious of the stupendousness of the task and had grave misgivings about his own capabilities, yet his fiery nature refused to acknowledge defeat, and his love of versatility goaded him to tread the tortuous path, cleared by Nizâmî but untrodden by any other since his time. That Khusrau undertook the task at the instance of the king or any of his nobles, we have no reasons to assume.[2] He was simply moved by the fame of the Khamsa to produce himself something that may acquire an equal renown in generations yet unborn and seems to have regretted that tha idea did not occur to him when he was younger and his muse more vigorous. "When first the diamond of my speech was sharp I knew not the pearl and pierced only shells, and now when I can know a ruby from a pebble, my bright

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(1) All the five poems were dedicated separately to ʿAlâuddin. There is no evidence, however, to show that the work was undertaken at that king's behest. The poet presented a complete manuscript of the Khamsa to Iftikharuddin, the prime minister (Ṣadr صدر)who however does not seem to have been very prompt in rewarding his labours, for Khusrau complains of this in a fragment. Baqiya I.O. ms. 1187 f. 391b.

(2) ʿAlâuddin Khalji was too indifferent to letters to make such a request.

has become dull."(1)

But it would strike any modern critic as very fortunate that he did not think of this earlier — that he devoted his time and energy in the prime of his youth to producing something which is much more valuable than the romantic tales of the old times: Nizâmî had told them well enough. It was fortunate again that Khusrau did not spend much of his time on what after all was a thankless job. He, perhaps, later on realised the comparative futility of his attempt and, getting tired of the monotonous mesnevi verse hurried through the task as soon as possible.(2) He was, moreover, severely criticised by his jealous contemporaries who scoffed at the ambitious idea and described his productions as "a stew cooked in Nizâmî's pot and a foolish self-conceit."(3) His self-confidence and just pride in the vigour of his genius, however, helped him along and sometimes even carried him away to vainglorious boasting. "The star of my poetry," he sang, "has arisen high and has made Nizâmî tremble in his grave."(4)

Yet in his sober moments Khusrau could not but recognise the superiority of Nizâmî. "With this alphabet," he says, "which may amuse children, I have written an imitation of the great master's work. If it is not sweet, there is music in it, if there is no life in it, there is a skeleton. ... From his birthplace Ganja he scattered

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(1) Muh Sipihr (Introduction).

(2) The whole Khamsa was finished within the course of a little more than two years. (698-701 H.).

(3) The words are ascribed to 'Ubaid, a Persian poet who came to India and attached himself to Muhammad Tughlaq's cortege when the latter was still a prince. (Badaoni I. 223: غلط افتاد خسرو را ذهابی ؛ که سکبا پخت در دیگ نظامی)

(4) Matla'-ul-anwâr p. 28. کوکبهٔ خسرویم شد بلند ؛ غلغله در گور نظامی فگند

A poet is said to have replied to it thus:
تیغ (؟) می که بر آمد چو برق ؛ از سر خسرو سر مولو دو فرق ؛ مادر خویش راست دو پیکر شدی ؛ گر نشدی پنجهٔ بیرنش دو دوق
Haft Âsmân p. 69.

out the five treasures, and with those five I want to match my own strength. . . so that the wise ones may say of me: 'Bravo! thou worthy pupil of Nizâmî.'" "The verse of Nizâmî," he says elsewhere, "is like a pearl in its purity and the whole world is full of the pearls scattered by him."(1)

This superiority, nevertheless, Khusrau ascribes to the fact that Nizâmî wrote practically nothing beside the Khamsa in his whole life and his circumstances permitted him to devote all his time and energy to its perfection.(2) One would hardly concur with those of Khusrau's critics who described his Khamsa as trash, or on the other hand with such enthusiasts as have claimed that a single verse in it out-weighs in merit the whole Khamsa of Nizami.(3) More sensible critics like Jami and Nawai in the old days and shibli in modefn times have judged Khusrau's replica rightly: it is, as they say, the best imitation of Nizami's work, but considered as a whole, it falls short of the original.(4) Yet, when we say an imitation we refer only to its form, for as we shall see later on, Khusrau has not abandoned his originality even in the Khamsa. He adheres scrupulously to the metres used by Nizâmî and is faithful to the broad outlines of the romances, yet he takes considerable liberty with the smaller details and, what is more, is never guilty of plagiarism. There are, moreover, parts of his Khamsa which are as fine - if

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(1) Qirân-us- Sa'dain p. 188.

(2) Vide Nuh Sipihr (concl. نظامی کاسبِ حیوان رکخت درحرف: ہمہ عمرش درین سرمایہ شد صرف)
Cf. also Concl. of Majnûn-o-Leyla.

(3) See Haft Âsmân pp. 67-68. The verse is: قطرۂ آبی کخوزد ماکیان تا نکند رو لبسوئی آسمان
(Matla-ul-anwar (?)

not finer - than any found in that of Nizâmî, and Khusrau often shows himself to be a greater artist in the grouping and delineation of events. It is only in the wealth of beautiful similes and metaphors as well as in polished and elegant phraseology that Nizâmî excels his imitator, and the fame that the first poem of Khusrau's Khamsa, the Matla'-ul-anwâr acquired both in India and Transoxiana was due as much to its intrinsic merit as to the long-established prestige of its composer, although the poem was completed in the incredibly short space of a fortnight's time.(1)

After this brief introduction, we proceed to examine the five poems separately, beginning with the Matla'-ul-anwâr.

This poem was completed by Khusrau in the year 698 H. in a fortnight(2) and is a reply to Nizâmi's Makhzin-ul-asrâr.(3) It is written in the same metre as its prototype and deals with practically the same themes. The whole poem has been divided into 20 chapters each comprising 125 couplets and ending in a story illustrative of its subject. The total number of verses including the introduction and the prologue is, as Khusrau says himself, three thousand, three hundred and ten.

The poem opens with the praise of God, followed by three Munâjâts, three Na'ts, panegyrics on Nizâmuddin Auliya and 'Alâuddin Khalji and a prologue giving the motif of the poem and describing the ecstatic experiences

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(1) See what Jami says in the introduction to his Tuhfat-ul-abrar, about it... "In its delicate and fine ideas, it is such that the finest writers of the world acknowledge their inability to reply to it..."

(2) Matla-ul-anwar 205. The date is given as 697 in some mss.

(3) Thus: مفتعلن فاعلن مفتعلن twice.

of the poet in a night and a morning and his turning with reluctant steps from the 'garden of reality' to the guidance of his teacher.(1) The poet explains that he proposes to talk of three things on the poem, namely, the Law, the Path and the Truth, and shows in the first maqâla the superiority of man over all other creations, his ability to rise to immeasurable heights through proper discipline and training, and the reality and nobility of the mission that has been entrusted to him in this world. The second maqâla deals with the necessity and advantage of knowledge, the dangers of ignorance and the discrimination between true scholars and such turbaned hypocrites as have made their learning a means of worldly intrigue and consider it to be "a talisman for capturing the affections of kings."(2)

The third maqâla speaks of the virtues of speech and how to best utilise this gift. Truth and sincerity are essentials of speech.

In the fourth maqâla the poet speaks of the Unity of God and the five great principles (arkân) of Islam, i.e. the Kalma-i-Shahâdat, the prayers, the zakât, the fast of Ramaḍân and the pilgrimage to Mecca, and lays special stress on devotion and faith as distinct from formal observance of religious rites. Piety, the great struggle against Self, purging the mind of carnal desires etc., form the theme of the fifth maqâla.

The sixth maqâla outlines the path of virtue and sufism, advises to seek the society of saintly persons,

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(1) The passage would seem to emphasise the necessity of a guide, however tempting an independent excursion into the domain of spiritualism may appear to a novice.

رو بسوی خواجہ و دل سوی دوست ؛ ہر دو جہان نہ شدہ در مغز و پوست ؟

(2) جادوی مہست از نی شیرینشان

warns against hypocritical teachers, and condemns the use of wine as a means to attaining spiritual ecstasy.(1)

The seventh maqâla speaks of the virtues of contentment and self-reliance and the futility of worldly ambitions.

Love, true and false, its importance in the lives of men, its dangers and hardships, the ways of the fair ones, and the purity of love form the subject of the eighth maqâla which is one of the most interesting of the 20 chapters.

The ninth maqâla deals with friendship and friends, the true friendship, its essentials, its importance and its conditions.

In the tenth maqâla the poet explains our duties towards our relatives, our parents and children.

The eleventh maqâla extols the importance of generosity and charity and of their proper use.

The twelfth maqâla consists of advices to soldiers and warriors, the virtues of courage and patience and of lenience and mercy to fallen foes.

The thirteenth maqâla contains some very frank and interesting bits of advice for kings and princes.

The fourteenth maqâla deals with honesty and dishonesty both in private as well as public life. The poet is especially bitter against hypocritical scholars and dishonest officials.(2)

In the fifteenth maqâla the poet praises mercy, gentleness and patience and condemns anger, cruelty and injustice

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(1) This rather interesting. Wine and other drugs were apparently used even in those days in India by some of the 'spirituals.'

(2) Curiously enough Khusrau here warns the king against employing Hindus in large numbers. "God forbid that the king's realm be again in the clutches of the black Hindus. Numerous crows are a nuisance in a garden: it is better that there be but one mole on the cheek than that there be a thousand."
باز مباد اکه مند ملک شاه ؛ در قبضه هندوکان سیاه ؛ ؛ ؛

to our inferiors.

The sixteenth maqâla contains general maxims of morality and worldly conduct, while in the seventeenth maqâla the poet speaks of youth and old age which he, in a very picturesque passage, compares to spring and autumn respectively, advises young men to make the best of their youthful days and to keep virtuous and straight and counsels old persons to recognise the infirmities of old age and to renounce the practises of youth.

In the eighteenth maqâla Khusrau deals with the transitoriness of life and the 'treachery of the sky', the old age, and the necessity for a really able and pious preceptor. The subject is continued in the nineteenth maqâla which concludes in a very touching lament for his loneliness and the absence of friends. "We also," he says, "had some one - a friend and a companion. Not a weed is now left of that garden. Why seek for the inmates? The very dwellings are no more! ... Those dead ones find not alas! the permission to come back from their distant abode! I die in longing for them - would that I were really dead and with them!"

The twentieth and the last maqâla is devoted to women. It consists of advices to his daughter Maymûnah and to women in general. The poet speaks rather sceptically of the loyalty of women, advises them to observe the purdah, tells them the way to domestic peace and amity and winds up with a tirade against women of loose character. (1)

In the epilogue the poet speaks proudly of his work condemns such jealous persons as shut their eyes to "the splendour of this moon-like idol" and see only its defects. He acknowledges his debt to other poets and gives, as we

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(1) Cf. Hasht Bihisht (Introduction.)

have already seen, the date of composing the poem and the numbers of verses in it.(1) Khusrau's example led many of his successors to compose similar imitations of the Makhzin-ul-asrâr. The most notable of these are Jâmi's Tuhfat-ul-abkâr and Urfi's Majma'ul-abkâr.

A lengthy list of these poems is given in the Haft Asmân.(2)

The poem was lithographed in Lucknow in 1884 A.D., and again in Aligarh. Manuscript copies, along with the other four poems of the Khamsa are numerous and are found in most of the libraries.

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(1) Vide Supra.

(2) See pp. 1 et seq.

Shîrîn-o- Khusrau

Shîrîn-o-Khusrau, the second poem of his Khamsa and corresponding to Khusrau-o-Shîrîn of Nizâmî was completed by the poet in the beginning of Rajab 698 H. It is composed in the same metre as its model (1) and has four thousand, one hundred and twenty-four couplets. It differs considerably, in details, from Nizâmi's poem.

The work opens, as usual, with 'hamd' and n'at, the praise of Nizâmuddin Auliya, and an enconium on 'Alâuddin Khalji to whom the poem is dedicated. The poet then talks of the mysteries of the universe and the importance of love, and begins the story with the death of Hurmuz and the accession to throne of Khusrau. (2)

Khusrau, growing jealous of the power of one of his nobles Bihram Chobîna marched on Madain, but the expedition proving unsuccessful he returned dejected and weary and his wise minister and companion Shâhpûr diverted him on his way telling him, among other wonderful things, of Shîrîn, the niece of the queen of Armenia - of her wonderful beauty and skill in riding and hunting. Khusrau, struck by this narrative paid Shîrîn a visit and the two fell deeply in love with each other. Soon after, however, Khusrau, went to Rûm where he married Maryam, the daughter of the Kaiser, with whose help he defeated Bihrâm, who had to fly from Madain and seek refuge in Turkestan where he died shortly afterwards fighting for the Khâqân. Khusrau now ruled in peace, his people were prosperous and hispower increased, so that the Kaiser

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(1) مفاعیلن مفاعیلن فعولن twice.

خداوندا دلم را چشم بینایی بده معراج یقینم راه پیمایی

(2) Nizâmî commences the tale with the birth and early education of Khusrau in Mesopatamia with Nu'mân b. Mundhir, who built Khawarnaq.

growing afraid of him thought it prudent to transfer his treasures from Asia Minor to Abyssinia. Several boats full of these rich treasures were launched into the sea but a capricious breeze blew them off to the coast of Persia where Khusrau took possession of them and distributed their contents among his grateful subjects.(1) Maryam, neglected by Khusrau and shocked at the ill-will between him and her father, declined in health and died. Khusrau, was on the whole glad at her death for he thought he could now marry Shîrîn. He paid her a visit again, but the lovers quarrelled and Khusrau returned to Persia sad and disappointed. He soon afterwards, however, married Shakar, a famous beauty of Ispahan. Shîrîn, meanwhile, met Farhâd, who was really the son of the Emperor of China, but had renounced his heritage and taken to sculpture and art, and asked him to construct a canal for bringing in milk from one part of her country to another.(2) Farhâd, who was smitten with the charms of Shîrîn started readily on this super-human task, asking in return nothing but an occasional glance at the beloved face of Shîrîn. Khusrau hearing of him, grew very jealous and paid him a visit trying to persuade him to give up his love for Shîrîn.(3) Farhad, of course, refused and so Khusrau, by a dirty trick, soon made him commit suicide. Shîrîn, in revenge sent an old, wily woman to Khusrau's palace and the hag instilling herself into the confidence of the unwary Shakar soon managed to compass her death through

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(1) This was the 'wind-blown' treasure famous in Persian legends (گنج بادآورد) Nizami makes no mention of this incident.

(2) Khusrau's account of their meeting is more romantic than that of Nizâmi.

(3) Some very interesting questions are answered in this passage, which summarises, as it were the whole theory of love as understood by the Sufis.

a deadly potion which she gave to her as a medicine.(1) After these tragic deaths Khusrau and Shîrîn remained estranged for some time, but were ultimately reconciled and married with great pomp and ceremony. Their happiness was great, but it did not last long, for Shîroya, the son of Khusrau, encouraged by the easy-going and pleasure-loving nature of his father conspired with the nobles, besieged the palace and captured the throne. Khusrau was murdered by a ruffian who bore him a grudge and the faithful Shîrîn committed suicide by the corpse of her dead husband.

This, in brief, is how Khusrau relates the old romance in a highly artistic style in which he falls hardly short of Nizâmî. In some places, in fact, he proves himself to be a greater dramatist and a more skilful painter of character than the old master. Only his poem lacks the perfect finish and polish which repeated retouching and long revision could alone impart to it. The concluding part, where Khusrau questions the great philosopher, Buzurg Ummaid about the skies, the stars, the four elements, etc., is very original and instructive albeit a little dull and wearying.

The poet finishes the poem with a comparison of himself with Nizâmî, gives the date of composition and the number of verses in the poem and concludes in a pray- to God.

"When Khusrau parts with this life, forgive him his sins - for the rest Thou knowest better!"

(چو برخسرو سر آید زندگانی ؛ گناهش عفو کن باقی تو دانی)

The poem has been lithographed in Aligarh. Manuscript copies are numerous and easily accessible.

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(1) Khusrau's sketch of her is wonderful. Nizâmi is silent about Shakar's fate, and places the death of Maryam after that of Farhâd.

Majmun-o- Leyla

Khusrau completed his poem Majmûn-o- Leyla in 699 H. The poem, written after Nizâmî's Leyla-o- Majnûn, contains 2660 couplets and is in the same metre as its model.(1) Khusrau, according to himself has moreover, tried to imitate in this poem the style of Nizâmî as closely as possible. "I have advanced close in his footsteps as far as I could. I discarded my own style and adopted his: I wrote after the old model and did away with all affectations, ornamenting my ideas with only simplicity and flow of language."(2) It is, perhaps, too much to say that Khusrau has succeeded in imitating Nizâmi's style completely: there is in his poem still a touch of his original style, but there could be no doubt that as far as the general quality of the poems is concerned, Khusrau's poem is as fine as Nizami's and Khusrau is justified when he says: "No one could imitate Nizâmi better than this. If he himself had read my poem he would not have recognised it from his own, and I see no difference between them except that one is the product of his mind and the other of my soul."(3)

The story as told by Khusrau is slightly different from Nizâmi's version of it.(4) The poem opens with hamd,

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(1) Thus: مفعولُ مفاعلنْ فعولنْ twice:
(ایدآده بدل خزینهٔ راز ؛ عقل از توشده خزینه پرداز)

Cf. Blochmann p.33).

(2) پی بر پیِ اوحنی نکه دالم ؛ گفتم قدمی زدن توالم ؛ از شیوهٔ خود رمیده گشتم ؛ تسلیم بجان چریده گشتم
p. 63.

(3) زان سنگ که مرد پیر خضر داشت ؛ زین به نتوان گهر نه برداشت ؛ گر خود بزلال من سزی غرق ؛
محکم نشد ایش درمیان فرق ؛ زین بیش تفاوتی ندالم ؛ کان از دل اوست این ز جالم

(4) According to Nizâmi, for instance, Leyla was married to Ibn-i- Salâm and he makes no mention of Majnun's marriage to Naufal's daughter. He introduces also another romance, the love and marriage of Zeynab and Zaid, which Khusrau has, wisely I think, ignored altogether.

n'at and the praises of Nizâmuddin Auliya and 'Alâuddin Khalji. The poet then says how Gabriel visited him and exhorted him to be active, not to rest in his laurels, but try to add yet another glory to his crown. Then follows some advices to his son whom he calls Khizr. The story itself begins with the birth of Majmûn, his education in a school, where he meets the charming damsel Leyla and falls in love with her. The poet then describes how their love becomes a common talk and upsets Leyla's parents who prevent her from going to school and confine her in 'purdah.' Majmûn gets wild and wanders about but his father persuades him to come back home promising him to get for him the hand of Leyla, which, however, he fails to do. Naufal, a powerful chieftain, taking pity on Majmûn's plight fights Leyla's father to force him to marry her to Majmûn but failing in his undertaking he marries his own daughter, a beautiful girl, to Majmûn. The distracted lover, however, finds little solace in this marriage and soon flees away to the wilderness again, where he lives among wild animals. His mother and father pine away in grief for their beloved son and die one after the other. Leyla, meanwhile, was as distracted and miserable in her confinement as Majmûn. Once only, through the kind assistance of some friends the two lovers met each other in the wilderness. Leyla at last heard a false rumour of Majmûn's death, fell ill, wasted away and died. Majmûn hearing of her death walked in front of the bier comtaining her corpse. He laughed and sang for 'the time had come when the two would be united in an inseparable union.' When Leyla's grave was dug and the coffin placed in it, Majmûn gave one wild cry, leapt into the grave and clasping the dead body in a close

embrace expired immediately.[1] Some of Leyla's relatives wanted to remove his body from hers, but then spoke out some wise ones with tearful eyes: "This love had nothing of worldly desire about it: it was a mystery from the treasure-house of God. ... Happy are they who with a pure heart thus go to death in the path of faithfulness."[2] So the two lovers were allowed to lie for ever together in one grave, locked in a union that is eternal.

The poet then moralises on the fickle ways of the world, and in a very pathetic passage describes his own double loss - the death of his mother and his younger brother Qutlugh in one year. After a comparison of his own poem with that of Nizâmî and acknowledging the greatness of that master he turns to his critics: "If I am devoid of skill, let us hear you speak so that we may know your worth. ... When your own poetry is ignominious why do you foolishly brag about Nizâmi?" He gives the date of composition and the numbers of verses in the poem at the conclusion.

The poem, written in an elegantly simple and tender style, is, I think, the finest poem of the Khamsa and Khusrau has in it proved himself to be as great a student of the psychology of love and emotion as any Persian poet.

The poem has been lithographed several times,[3] and ms. copies exist in many libraries. Several poets have written the old romance, but the best, after Nizâmî's, are

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(1) According to Nizâmî Majnûn heard of Leyla's death some time after she had been married and he expired clasping the tomb-stone over her grave.

(2) (p.58) این کار نه شهوت و هوائیست ؛ سرّی ز خزینهٔ خدائیست ؛

(3) I have consulted the Nawal Kishore Edition (Lucknow 1880) and I.O. mss. No: 1186 and 1187. The reference to pages is from the Lucknow Edition.

the poems of Khusrau and that of Fuzûlî of Baghdad in Turkish,[1] and the two, curiously enough, show a good deal of resemblance in certain parts.[2]

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(1) For the latter poem See Gibb's Hist. of the Ottoman Poetry vol. iii p. 85 seq. and vol VI p. 142 seq.

(2) See, for instance, the intensity and tenderness of Leyla's last words to her mother in both the poems.

Âîna-i- Sikandarî

Aina-i- Sikandari, or more correctly 'ainahai-Sikandari,[1] the fourth mesnevi of the Khamsa which is an imitation of Nizâmi's Sikandar Nâmeh, was composed by Khusrau in 699 H., and contains 4450 couplets.[2] It is written in the same metre as the Barrî and Bahrî Sikandar Nâmehs and delineates mostly the events narrated in these two mesnevis.[3]

Beginning with hamd, na't, the praises of Nizâmuddin Auliya and the king, the poet goes on to extol the merits of poetry of which, he boasts he has a full share. He then mentions the order in which he composed the mesnevis of the Khamsa and criticises the assertion made by Nizâmi that Alexandar was a prophet. According to Khusrau he was only a saintly person (walî). Then follow some advices to his son called Hâjjî, and the poet gives an abstract of the whole story treated in the mesnevi.

The tale commences with Alexandar's war against the Khâqân of China and the capture of the warrior-maid Kanîfû whom Alexandar ultimately married.[4] From the east Alexandar turned towards the north and subjugated the Rûsîs and the Almanîs, and then went to the land of Yâjûj whom he quelled after a grim struggle and whose inroads into the land of their neighbours were stopped by the construction of a massive wall, of copper, iron, lead, and stones, under the special supervision of Aristotle.

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(1) Khusrau gives the name at two places in the epilogue:
مرا ین نامه را زاتفاق صواب ؛ شد آئینهای سکندر خطاب | ولقبّه قلبی آئینهائی سکندری

(2) Epilogue:

(3) Thus: مفعولُ مفاعیلُ مفاعیلُ فعولُ (حبهای پادشاهانه ای تراست)

(4) According to Nizâmi the girl was presented to Alexandar by the emperor of China.

Khusrau then mentions the various inventions of Alexandar's time: the astrolabe,[1] the looking-glass and tents made of cotton cloth instead of hide, and describes the construction of the famous Alexandar's mirror. He then mentions how the Greek philosophers, headed by Plato,[2] refused to listen to Alexandar's teachings and how their land was destroyed by a flood, so that Plato, who survived the disaster, ultimately attached himself to the suite of the king. Alexandar now starts on a long sea-voyage accompanied by Khizr, Ilyâs and Aristotle and wanders about in the seas for years. He then descends into the depths of the sea in a water-tight glass case and guided by an angel sees the great mysteries of the ocean. He is at last informed of his approaching end, hurries back to land and dies bequeathing his empire to his son Iskandarûs. The prince, however, was so struck by the vanity of human ambition and worldly power that he refused the throne and so Darghûs, a relative of the late king is elected ruler of the vast empire. Khusrau concludes the poem with a long and very well-written epilogue in which he speaks of his achievements, laments the passage of time and the advent of old age,[3] gives the date of the poem and the number of verses in it, and appeals to his readers to be lenient in their judgment of the merits of the work, and not to ignore its good points. The epilogue ends in a sentence in Arabic prose.[4]

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(1) Khusrau gives here the various explanations of this name. According to his own theory 'Ustur' is a balance and 'lab' = the sun, whence 'ustur-lab' is a sun-metre.

(2) Aflatun.

(3) He was almost fifty when he wrote the poem.

(4) أسبغ الصانع الخ

Khusrau has, of course, tried to imitate Nizâmî in the poem, but he has been less successful here than elsewhere in rising up to the level of the great master. Khusrau's heroic passages lack that vigour which Nizâmî's have so abundantly, and the whole poem wants unity and continuity. It is, in spite of some very fine passages, dull and uninspiring.

The poet has changed the story to suit his own purposes and differs considerably from Nizami in several details and, what is more important, has altogether left out the conquest of Persia and the death of Darius, wisely, perhaps, for it was well-nigh impossible to tell those events better than Nizâmi has done. (Lithographed in Aligarh [1]).

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(1) I have consulted the I.O. ms. No: 1186.

'Hasht Bihisht'

(The Eight Paradises)

Hasht Bihisht, the fifth and the last poem of the Khamsa, an imitation of Nizami's Haft Paikar, was completed in 701 H., and contains 3350 couplets.(1) Its metre is the same as that of its prototype and like the latter it narrates the romantic life of Bihrâm-Gûr, the old Persian king famous for his hunting exploits.(2)

The poem, as usual, opens with the praise of God and the Prophet, a eulogy of Nizâmuddin Auliya and a panegyric on Sultan ʿAlâuddin Khalji, to whom the poet dedicated the mesnevi. The poet then relates how on a fine, moonlight night he sat alone while a thousand poetic fancies crowded his mind impatient to be clothed in words and how he began to write this poem and was encouraged in this task by his friend (ʿAlâuddin) ʿAlî (Shah). Then follows a long passage containing interesting bits of advice for his 'paradise daughter', ʿAfîfa.

The story begins with an account of Bihrâm's love for Dilârâm, a beautiful Chinese damsel, who always accompanied the king on his hunting trips. One day she failed to admire the king's skill and Bihrâm offended at her behaviour exiled her to a forest, where she met a pious old man, a skilled musician "who had all the four musical instruments and the twelve melodies at the tips

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(1) Hasht Bihisht: Epilogue.

(2) Only Khusrau's account is materially different from that of Nizami's. The metre is:

فاعلاتن مفاعلن فعلن twice

Ramal (ای کشایندهٔ خزانهٔ جود نقش پیوند کارگاه وجود)

of his fingers." The old man soon made Dilârâm a wonderful expert in music and she came back incognito to Bahrâm's domain. There the fame of her skill spread far and wide for she could charm even the beasts and the birds with her divine melodies, so that the king too went one day to hear her play. Dilaram then disclosed her identity and the two were happily reconciled.(1)

The courtiers and companions of the king were, however, getting tired of his ceaseless hunting trips and consequent neglect of state affairs, and they beseeched his counsellor and vizier, Nu'mân, to devise some means to keep the king in the capital. The wise old man then constructed seven wonderful palaces, named each of them after one of the seven stars, and lodged in it a maiden of exquisite beauty, the daughter of some king.(2) Bahrâm soon gave himself up to the pleasures of these paradise-like palaces and renounced his hunting. He visited each of them on successive days of the week and the princess in it told him an entertaining story. Bahram, however, soon after got sick of this life and again started out on another hunting expedition. He saw a very fine onegar and set his horse in its pursuit. The onegar leapt into what appeared to be a well but was really a large cavern, deep and dreadful, and Bahram's horse leapt after the onegar with his rider into the abyss from which he never came out. His companions and courtiers waited long and anxiously for him but finding no trace of him, they at

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(1) Nizâmi's version of the manner of their reconciliation is quite different.

(2) The princesses came from the 'seven climes', (Haft Iqlim.). According to Nizâmî Bahrâm found the portraits of the seven princesses in a locked chamber in Khawarnaq where he lived with Mundhir of Hira in his childhood, fell in love with them and procured their hands himself when he became king.

the name. The only instrument peculiar to India (and probably a new invention) would seem to be the 'ajab rûd, which does not appear to resemble the sitâr at all. Indeed, it is hard to trace the name in any but the comparatively modern Persian literature of India, while it occurs in Turkish and Persian poetry of a much earlier date.(1) This would induce one to presume that the sitâr was originally invented in Persia, or rather Caucasia, and was introduced into India in later times. The 'târ', in fact, is the national musical instrument of Caucasia and Georgia to-day, and it was probably from these countries that the instrument spread into the western lands under the names of zither, guitar, etc. But still the fact remains that even some reliable authorities ascribe to Khusrau the invention of this instrument, and there is no doubt that it was evolved from earlier instruments during the time when Persian and Indian cultures came into close contact. The sitâr, which resembles the Persian tanbûr or 'ûd in shape and the Indian vîna in principle, is itself an epitome of the Indo-Persian civilisation.

Whether, however, Khusrau actually produced any new musical instrument or not, it is certain that he was highly skilled in the science of music, had, in fact, probably won the title of Nâik or Nâyak,(2) and introduced important and valuable changes into the old Indian system.

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(1) Even Abul Fazl, for instance, does not mention it in the list of Indian musical instruments. (Ain-i-Akbari, II, pp. 138-39.

(2) See Saut-ul-Mubârak pp. 42 and 47, where the term is defined as meaning "one who knows the three 'surs' or 'mats'." The title was the highest for a musician, the lower grades being: pundit, guni, gandarp, and gâin. According to the author, Khusrau was only nâik-i-khayal and not naik-i-dhurpad, and by his innovations "destroyed all the regulations and instruments established for thousands of years", while his disciples in their audacity "vied with the kalâwants, the representatives of the old system that dates back to the time of Mahadeo."

last returned weeping and mourning.

The poet here moralises on the unstability of worldly goods and the helplessness of man. He then speaks of the poem, the date of its composition, the number of verses it contains and compares it to the Haft Paikar. "This poem is an echo of that old work, and contains all the wealth which that old treasure has got. ... Honey, no doubt, is valuable but vinegar also has its purchasers: the pearl is costly, yet amber also possesses some value... and even if there be no real gold in this poem it has the glitter of gold. A flower-seller likes the garden: a wood-cutter prefers a forest of thorny trees. The bird of the desert[1] that eats stones considers stones more valuable than pearls." The poet concludes with thanks to God and mentions how his poem was revised by his friend, the great scholar Shihâbuddin.

The bulk of the mesnevi is, of course, formed by the seven stories told by the seven princesses all of which are apparently original and quite entertaining.[2] (The poem was lithographed in Lucknow in 1873. and again in Aligarh).

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(1) He means probably 'qaṭa' (قطا) the sand-grouse. Hasht Bihisht epilogue(P.179):

این نمونه که نقش پرّ کاراست ؛ ازطراز کهن نمودار است ؛ الخ.

(2) The best of these are, perhaps, the story of the Goldsmith and his tell-tale wife. (Hasht Bihisht p. 61 seq.), which has been described by Shibli in Urdu (Shi'rul-Ajam II 163) and 'the three princes of Ceylon' translated by Prof. Habib (p. 77 seq). Hasht Bihisht p. 46 seq.

LYRICAL POETRY

(Ghazels)

Lyrical poetry, the poetry which sings essentially of love with its pleasures and sorrows, of spring with its green mantle bedecked with myriads of blossoms and flowers, of wine and its rapturous delights and of music that lifts the soul above the sordid surroundings of the earth, forms undoubtedly the most pleasant and the most precious part of the poetry of any country. Songs of the great deeds of mighty heroes may stir our hearts to ambitious actions and fill our minds with a noble discontent, and the praises of glorious monarchs, the tales of their wars and conquests, may supply material for the speculative brain and the prolific pen of a historian, but it is the poetry that sings of the eternal and universal themes, love and life, that consoles and comforts, that elevates and inspires every human heart, and the greatness of a poet depends largely on how far he succeeds in handling these themes properly.

Persian poetry, such as has come down to us and with which we are familiar, developed on the lines of Arabic poetry in which lyrics formed no independent branch, but merely a portion of the qaṣîda. It was, therefore, natural that the earliest Persian masters, emulating the Arab bards, devoted their art and talents to qaṣîdas. But the more versatile and flexible Iranian minds could not long be tied down to the narrow limitations of their Semetic models and soon found out a way to vary the monotony of their poetry. The first step taken by the Persian poets was the introduction of several metres, unknown to the

Arabs, that were certainly much more suited to the spirit and genius of their poetry and provided a vaster field for the exercise of their art. The invention of the mathnavî, a form of poetry particularly suitable for epic and romantic poetry, was the next development, and finally there came the ghazel that was destined to achieve the largest amount of popularity in all eastern countries.

Sa'di, the wizard of Shiraz, was certainly the first man to advance the cause of ghazel. His lyrics, soft and refined, musical and melodious became as popular in the Moslem countries as his Gulistân and Bûstân, and he was soon recognised as the master of lyrics. Yet Sa'di's ghazels lacked something: they had no frenzy, no burning passion, no erotic love in them. They were tame and gentle, and his successor and compatriot Hâfiz was the first to detect this weakness, and to supply the ghazel with that 'fire' which has made the name of Hâfiz renowned all over the world.(1) Yet years before Hâfiz was born, Khusrau, the parrot of India, had firmly established the claims of ghazel to superiority over all other branches of Persian poetry. Both Khusrau and his great contemporary Hasan, took for their model the old master, Sa'di, and recognised his greatness, but Khusrau, like Hâfiz, was not a blind follower. He also saw what Sa'di's ghazel lacked and, unconsciously perhaps, drifted away from the old path and evolved for himself a lyrical poetry the like of which has been rarely produced by any Persian

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(1) Thus Hâfiz says: "They all recognise Sa'di as the master of ghazel, yet my ghazels have rather the style and spirit of Khwâjû's ghazels." Khwaju of Kirman, a poet not very well-known died in 753 H. See Browne: (Persian Lit. under the Tartar. pp. 222-229) See also Z.D.M.G. 1848 p. 205 seq.

(استاد غزل سعد لیست پیش همه کس لیکن ؛ دارد غزل حافظ طرز و روش خواجو)

poet. It is a pity, however, that he could not free himself entirely from contemporary conventions and ideals and does not seem to have attached any great value to this poetry. With him, as with Sa'di, it was a foster-child though, perhaps, less neglected and more carefully brought up, and this fact accounts for the presence of a fair amount of what is dull and insipid, weak and puerile in his lyrical poetry side by side with poems of the highest order and the most sublime genius. It is idle to speculate what his verse would have been like if he had concentrated all his attention and energy on lyrics: perhaps, he could never do that, or even if he did he could not have improved much upon the best specimens of his ghazel, which are quite numerous - more in fact than those of doubtful merit so that it is unjust to say that "three-fourths of the mass is pure hack-work, a useless versification of common-place ideas," or that "they are a burden on the shoulders of posterity."(1) Nor can we agree with Prof. Habib in his assertion that "most of the ghazels were written not from the fulness of the heart, but the emptiness of the pocket,"(2) although one would readily admit that Khusrau's collection of ghazels could have been better for a little judicious pruning.

But the poet had no time, even if he had the inclination, to undertake a thorough revision and purging of his

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(1) Life and Works. pp. 88-90.

(2) Ibid. The learned Professor apparently labours under the delusion that all the five diwans of Khusrau contain nothing but ghazels and that these ghazels were composed mostly to please the poet's patrons.

ghazels. In fact, as far as we can gather from his own writings, he himself made but two collections which he appended to his third and fourth diwans. Later collections were made by Saifî at the instance of Prince Bâisunghur,[1] and by other enthusiasts and exist in several manuscripts. They are usually arranged in alphabetical order, and in some cases contain ghazels described to have been culled from the various diwans.

It is difficult to define exactly the fine qualities of Khusrau's lyrics. Their charm is vague and elusive, subtle and inexpressible. One should read them in the original to appreciate their true value. Yet a few suggestions may be made here as to the salient characteristics that have imparted them a unique dignity.

1) Khusrau, an expert musician, had naturally a keen ear for melody and harmony, and his selection both in metres and words is such as is best calculated to impart the verse a flow and a rhythm. 2) But this effect is produced at no cost to the ideas. His style is never affected or obstrusively ornate. Most of his ghazels, on the other hand are written in a wonderfully simple though elegant style, and the language seems to be that used for ordinary everyday conversation in his time. 3) Ghazel has always been generally considered to be a collection of couplets in the same metre and with the same rhyme, yet each a complete unit more or less independent of the rest. Even the theme changes with each couplet, so that the poet may, from the heights of bliss in one couplet, plunge into the depths of deepest despair in the one immediately after it. Sa'di, however, first showed the way to a new

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(1) See Supra.

(2) I do not agree with Shibli when he says that Khusrau is at his best in short metres. I think almost all his fine poems are in more or less long metres. One of the finest, however, is in a short metre.
(مرا دوش گوئی بجواب آمدی ؛ بکلبه کرده جام شراب آمدی : ۲۱۰)

style of ghazel wherein the component parts are more sympathetic and homogenius so that a continuity of theme, so desirable in a poem, is obtained. But it was left to Khusrau to utilise the new idea to its fullest possibilities. In his diwans we meet scores of poems with verses so well balanced and so nicely strung together as cannot fail to excite our admiration and wonder. 4) Many of his poems are full of a fervent love, a fiery passion capable of both exoteric as well as esoteric interpretations. This, coupled with their peculiar melodiousness, has made his poems extremely popular with the sufis who listen to them with rapt attention from the lips of the qawwâls today as their brethren did in the poet's life-time. More than one persons have been reported to have yielded the ghost while listening to a particularly touching verse.(1) 5) Yet, at the same time, there are other poems in a gentler and more restrained vein, which fill our hearts with vague longings, a tender joy or a soft melancholy, 6) while still others are boisterously joyful, overflowing with the joys of physical life - the fair women, the music, the wine, the flowers, the pleasant summer rains, the singing birds and the flowing waters. 7) Lastly, Khusrau's lyrics have a peculiar finesse and subtility of ideas that most of the Persian poets lack. In fact, I think, this was a characteristic that developed in India and, except Jâmî in old times and Nazîrî later on, no other Persian poet can compete with Khusrau in this particular respect, though there have been several Urdu

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(1) See for instance Jahângîr's account of how Mulla 'Alî Ahmed, a famous seal-engraver of his time, fell down dead on listening to the following verse recited by some Delhi qawwals:

ہر قوم راست راہی دینی و قبلہ گاہی ؛ ما قبلہ راست کردیم بر طرف کجکلاہی ؛

(Memoris O.T.F. I. 169).

poets who can.(1)

While then one cannot under-rate the value of his other works, it is ceratin that the lyrics form the most important part of Khusrau's poetry and that his great fame rests more upon their excellence than on anything else.

In the following translations I have tried to retain as far as possible the spirit and form of the originals and think a fair idea of their quality can be obtained even after this defective metamorphosis.

I.

(Of Jealousy)

Lo! comest thou again to me,
Thy graceful body swaying!
Thine eyes are languid, O my Love,
Where hast thou been a-maying?
Whose love-lorn heart didst gladden thou?
O faithless one! be candid!
Where didst thou hide thy moon-like face
As Joseph in the well did?
I rave for thee, but heedless thou -
Where hast thou been a-roaming?
Whose heart was it that caught new fire
From yon bright cheeks a-flaming?
Where didst thou quaff the cup last eve
Whom didst thou hand the goblet?
Whose thirst lips in darkness did
That life's own fountain wet?
Who held thy languid drooping form
Of musk and henna scent
In his fond arms? — To whose behest

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(1) I would have liked to add here the name of Ghâlib also, but I regard him as an Urdu poet essentially. In his Persian poetry he followed Nazîrî very closely.

Thine wilful nature bent?
Who kissed yon lips - whose hands did smooth
Those lustrous, raven tresses?
Who fondled thee - ah! say forsooth -
With eager, hot caresses?
Thy cheek hath lost its rosy hue
Thine eye its wonted glow!
Come, Khusrau, tell me who it was
Her fair face did thee show! (1)

II.

(Of Longing)

Ah friend! Come, but for once a thought
On this lost one bestow!
From 'neath yon silken lashes long
Thine eye's bright sparkle show!
I came to thee unbid, unasked
Thou went away from me,
Ay, 'tis to show how should forsooth
My boldness punished be!
Yea, thou hast gone, and well I know
That grief won't spare my life,
For where, alas! can find I now
Fresh strength for this new strife?
O Love! return and sit by me
A while, - why, where's the harm
If for one moment some sad heart
By thy bright presence warm?
My life is o'er, yet naught I rue
Except thine absence, dear,
If thou canst, do return for I
This sorrow cannot bear.

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(1) Nawal Kishore edition of Kulliyat p. 455; I.O.ms. 1187 f. 782.

Lo! Khusrau's grief lasts all night long,
'Tis long as thy dark hair,
Come, sweet-heart, tuck those tresses up
And shorten his despair![1]

III.

(Of Separation)

The clouds pour down their burden chill
While I from my loved one part;
How can I pray, on such a day
From her sever my heart?
The rain doth fall while with sad hearts
We stand to bid farewell,
The clouds do weep, and in response
Hot tears from our eyes swell.
Fair blows the breeze, while verdue fresh
The swards and gardens covers,
E'en like a captive nightingale
Ill fare now parted lovers!
For thee my tears are streaked with blood,
O pupil of mine eye!
Have pity on this grief of mine,
Don't bid me yet good-bye!
No more I want the gift of sight,
Let darkness me enfold!
What use to me are now mine eyes?
That face I can't behold![2]

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(1) Nawal Kishore: Kulliyat, p. 47; I.O. ms. 1187, f.417b.

(2) Nawal Kishore p. 37; I.O. ms. F. 423b.

IV.

(The Advent of Love)

The blood-red tears mine eye-lids lave,
Whose face mine eyes would see?
A cruel thorn my heart doth pierce,
For whom this longing be?
The mad-cap heart I with great art
From fickle beauties weaned
Is stolen by some one again,
Who, pray, the thief may be?
In darkness do I roam alone
Each night on dusty paths
Dust on my head, in my heart a gloom
What may this mad quest be?
"What wilt thou offer if she comes?"
They say with mockful glee.
Why, don't they see the thousand pearls
My tearful eyes will free?
Two snare-ful locks her face adorn,
A rose-hued horse beneath her
A thousand hearts her victims are
Who may this rider be?
On hapless Khusrau swift do fall
The arrows from her bow
Why should his blood not drench the sod? -
What can her scruples be? (1)

(Of Death)

Down there beneath the cruel earth
How fares that rose? ah me!
How fares that silvery moon of mine
In darkness far from me?

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(1) Nawal Kishore p. 386; I.O. ms. 1187 f. 729b.

With weeping have mine eyes grown dim
As Jacob's did of old;
How fares that lost one, Joseph-like,
In that dark dungeon cold?
I feel like one whose light is gone
By cruel griefs surrounded;
How fares my Love in that vast space
By earthly bounds unbounded?
E'en like a pearl was that sweet one
To the dust rolled down from mine eyes
Alas! mine eyes are dark as dust,
Where doth that bright pearl lie?
Like Khidr's green garb, the verdue fresh
Springs from that dusty mound,
How fares my loved Font of Life
For regions unknown bound?
Ah friends, those painful quarrels stop,
Don't ask of Khusrau, prey,
How fares his weeping eye just now,
For what can Khusrau say? (1)

(Of an Awakening)

The tipsy rose woke early in the dawn
And filled the poppy's cup with sweetest wine,
Here drowsed the jasmin by the rose's side
There stood the cypress by the water fine,
The wind blew soft, the narcissus dosed
Its body swayed, now drooped and now arose,
I in the garden by my friend lay 'wake
My friend - forsooth the moon itself was she,
But soon, alas, my side she left
And grief was all that was left for me.

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(1) Nawal Kishore p. 83; I.O. ms. 1187.

(Admiration)

O thou! Thy face the envy
Of the idols made by Âzer,
I praise thy beauty, yet forsooth
Than aught I say 'tis better.
Oh, never hath mine eye beheld
A fairer face than thine!
Art thou the moon? art thou the sun?
Art thou a nymph divine?
Through all the corners of the earth
I roamed and loved the fair ones
I saw a thousand beauties rare
But thou art far above 'em.
The world all lies at thy feet
The men all for thee rave;
Thy dark, bewitching, paynim eyes
The lovers' hearts enslave.
O joy and peace of my sad heart,
Thy form a cypress! pray,
Pass not with heedless, trailing skirt
Don't sweep my peace away!
Midst this your wond'rous city cast,
A beggar and a stranger,
Poor Khusrau longs for just a smile -
For just a glance from her! (1)

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(1) This ghazel is very popular. Cf. Sa'di's ghazel beg: Odes of Sa'di: Bib. Ind. 1919 p. 422) where the best verse is:

It is a pity indeed that I have no space here to give a fuller account of Khusrau's lyrical poetry, or to quote enough selections to illustrate its manifold characteristics. It is a poetry both original and vigorous, refined and artistic, and its popularity in the East has been unbounded.(1) Numerous poets, including his contemporary Hasan,(2) have modelled their verse on it, and even in Turkey the lyrics of Khusrau were evidently well-known and probably imitated by some of the poets. Sa'dî himself admired them, and the great Hafiz acknowledged their sweetness.(3) Nazîrî, the best ghazel writer of later times, imitates Khusrau frequently, and Ghâlib is another notable poet whose ghazels smack of the flavour first imparted to them by the "Parrot of India".

It may be mentioned here that Khusrau has written some ghazels in Arabic. Their number, however, is so small that we need take no special notice of them. Any scholar of his time could have produced Arabic verses of a similar quality. They are, in fact, as the poet himself says, "in a Persianised rudimentary style,"(4) and were composed merely to shut the mouth of such callous critics as denied him even the simplest proficiency in the Arabic language.

We may also add here a few words about Khusrau's quatrains which are appended to his various diwâns.(5) Most of them are

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(1) Thus Jâmî says in his Bahâristan (Henri Massé, 1925, p.190) "Ses ghazals, grâce à des conceptions bien connues qu'amants et amoureux interprètent selon leur propre goût et leurs propre sentiment, ont été appréciés par tous." He mentions (p. 191) 'Ismatullah of Bokhara as one of the imitators of Khusrau.

(2) Hasan's poetry is, perhaps, of a simpler and more natural order. It is more like that of Sa'dî, whence his title of Sa'di-i-Amir Hind. But one can detect enough of Khusrau's influence in it.

(3) Hâfiz says in a ghazel which he sent to Ghiyâthuddin of Bengal: شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند زین قند پارسی که به بنگاله میرود

(4) The Dîbâcha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl. For these poems, see I.O. ms. 1187, fols. 78b, 433; B.M. ms. 25807, foll 500b, 504, 519.

(5) We have already given their number as far as ascertainable, in the case of each diwan.

either in praise of God, the Prophet, and the kings and nobles, or, like the ghazals. treat of love and the beloved. But there are a few in a more philsophical vein that almost remind one of Omar Khayyam. There are a few others, again, that contain riddles[1] and some that praise the charms of young and fair artisans and craftsmen.[2] These latter may have formed part of a larger collection, a Shahr-Ashûb, which Khusrau is reported to have composed.[3] Here are a few fine specimens.

در سلک بتان دیگر آن دُرِّ خوشاب ؛ میرفت خراماں وخوش ومست وخراب
گفتم که ترا الجواب دیدم امشب ؛ خندید که لاف عاشقی وآنگه خواب ؛

. . . . . .

آنجا که مقام یار زیبا بوده است ؛ امروز از النسوگذر ما بوده است ؛
میرفت زدیده خون چو می آمد یاد ؛ کان سرو خراماں ما اینجا بوده است

(4)

. . . . . .

ایام لقا دیگان دیگان میگذرد ؛ واندر غم درد بیکران میگذرد
عمری که از و دمی بجانی ندهند صد حیف که زاینگان میگذرد

(5)

. . . . . .

رفتم بسر خاک عزیزان وداد آنانکه بدند چند گه با ما شاد
هر چند بخاک شان بگردم فریاد آخر بکجا شنید کس آواز مداد

(6)

. . . . . .

زلفت همه سنبل و وی او زدی داند ؛ دزدیده زمن دل مرا لبتاند ؛
ترسم من ازان دزد که بر دزدی سنب را برمن لبته همی گرداند

(7)

---

(1) They generally relate to names. Thus the name Kamâl is the solution of the following

نام بت من که مرهم ریش آمد ؛ پرسیدم ازو چو در رهم پیش آمد ؛ حرفی بخود لیک در آخر حال ؛
در اول آن گرچه کمالی بیش آمد ؛

(B.M. ms. No. 25807, fol. 437 seq.).

(2) Ibid. fol. 438[b] seq. (3) See Ishâk Khan's Prolegomena

(4) I.O.ms. 1187, f. 839. (5) Ibid, f. 826. (6) Ibid.

(7) I.O. ms.No.1187, fol. 829[b].

(1)
یاد آید ت آن مهر و وفا داریها ؛ وآن در حق من لطف بخواریها
اکنون به تصور چنان یاریها ؛ ما نیم و شب دراز و بیداریها

. . . . .

(2)
دی آن بت نازنین موزون حرکات ؛ کز قامت شیر نیست در خلقی زنبات
می شد زلب حوض روان و دل گفت ؛ بین کز لب حوض می رود آب حیات

. . . . .

(3)
هنگام خزان که یاسمن میریزد ؛ ابر از مژه لولوی ثمین میریزد ؛
هر برگ گلی که می بریزد بر خاک ؛ خوبیست که باد بر زمین میریزد

. . . . .

(4)
حسن دگران پیش تو نیسند دگل ؛ زانست که هر سر هر تخته میخندد گل ؛
ای بنده ی گلفروش آن روی چو گل ؛ کز دست تو زنار همی بندد گل ؛

. . . . .

(5)
باد آمد و در رقص کرد گل بر سر خار ؛ وز گریه ابر خندها زد گلزار ؛
بر ریش کسی است خنده گل که بباغ ؛ بی شاهد و می زود به هنگام بهار

. . . . .

(6)
آن ساعد ترک بر سمن خفته است ؛ بس گل که بدست خویشتن دزدیده است
حیرانست کسی کان کف گلگون دیده است ؛ گوئی که بباغ بود و گلها چیده است

. . . . .

The popularity of Khusrau's ghazels has been responsible for numerous and varied collections and selections. Manuscript copies are numerous. They exist either in the Kulliyât or independently under the title of Dîwân-i-Khusrau. A selection was lithographed in Cawnpore in 1288 H. and it would appear from the preface by the Editor that the selection was made by the poet himself from his four dîwâns, whence its title کلیات عناصر دواوین خسرو (7) This, however, is unlikely, for many of the poems ascribed to a particular diwan in this

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(1) I.O. ms. 1187. f. 841b. (2) Ibid, f. 843.

(3) B.M. ms. 25807, f. 313. (4) Ibid, f. 439b.

(5) Ibid, f. 435b. (6) Ibid, f. 431b.

(7) P. 9 (preface). A second edition was published in 1874, A.H. It is based on a ms. belonging to a gentleman in Bhopal.

edition are to be found attached to other dîwâns in some manuscripts. There is, as we have said above, a good deal of confusion in all the various collections, and the only real selections made by the poet himself appear to be those attached to the Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl, and the Bakîya Nakîya, although even there we find several common ghazels.

PROSE WORKS

I. THE I'JÂZ-I-KHUSRAVÎ
Or RASÂ'IL-UL-I'JÂZ.

Khusrau completed this voluminous work in 719 H. when he was almost seventy years of age. He had in 682 compiled four of the five risâlas (chapters or books) the work contains, but later on added to them a fifth, comprising letters composed in his earlier life.(1) The work is essentially meant to give specimens of elegant prose suitable for various purposes and to explain the use of the various artifices that, according to eastern ideals, add a "zest and a flavour" to all compositions, prose or poetic, and was undertaken by the poet to demonstrate his prowess in the field of prose as much as to provide instruction for the young literary aspirants of his age. He claims to present in it a style unique and original, distinct from all the old styles which he divides into nine categories. This originality consists mainly in the employment of a series of metaphors, each being sustained throughout one paragraph, admittedly an innovation of the poet. According to Khusrau the nine different styles of prose current in his time were as follows:

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(1) See pp. 342 and 167 of the fourth and fifth risalas respectively. (Nawalkishore edition, 1876)
The work opens with the praises of God and the Prophet and a long eulogy of 'Alâuddin Khaljî whose chastisement of the Mongols and establishment of peace and order are described at great length in very glowing terms. We have already made use of most of the valuable material contained in these introductory pages.

(1) The style of sufis and saints, which is of two kinds:

(a) Those of "gravity and stations"[1], like that to be met with in Kashf-ul-Mahjub[2], Sulûk-ul-Muridîn[3], and other similar works;

(b) Those of "States"[4], like what we have in the works of al-Ghazzâli or 'Ain-ul-Quzât al-Hamadâni.

(2) The style of the research scholars which is simple, forcible and convincing. Examples: the Persian books of al-Ghazzâlî and the Persian translation of the Ihyâ by Majduddin Jâjurmi.

(3) The style of the epistle-writers: neat and elegant, a mixture of Arabic and Persian judiciously worked up, the best specimen of which is provided by the translator of Kalila wa Dimnah and Bahâ-i-Baghdâdî.

(4) The style of scholars and savants: a technical language suited to each of the various sciences is employed.

(5) The style of orators and lecturers. It may be "plain" or "coloured".

(6) The style of teachers, which is 'like a slippery stone placed on the roadway by an awkward workman - is avoided by the wise but causes many a fool to stumble.' The lovers of this style are mostly obstinate and deaf to the criticism of the wise.

(7) The style of common folk. It is plain, simple and to the point.

(8) The style of workers and craftsmen, suited to their various professions. It is free from all affectation or ornament.

(9) The style of humorous writers, buffoons and clowns: a style particularly adapted for amusing and creating a sense of the droll and the ridiculous.

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(1) Ahl-i-tamkîn wa maqamât. (2) Of Hujwairi.

(3)

(4) Ahli Hâl.

The author then proceeds to explain his own style "which baffles all writers, the miraculous epistles written in it being like light revelations."(1) He gives first the arrangement of the work. It is divided into five risâlas or main divisions,(2) each risâla is divided into so many 'khats' or chapters, and each khat is subdivided into a number of 'harfs' or subjects.

1. The first risâla opens with a long introduction, detailing the poet's reasons for writing the book. The old style, he says, lacked 'spice' and zest, like the simple fare of the nomadic Turk or the Indian fisherman. The present style is entirely his own. All the Arabic and Persian verses used are his own productions. He does not favour the use of verbal artifices. Îhâm and Khayâl are his favourite figures of speech. The introduction closes with a warning to scribes to be careful in copying the work and with detailed instructions as to the best methods to be employed in writing a manuscript. He says here also how in India there had been developing a new style of prose, "mixed with sweet artifices, like water mixed with julep - a preparation of which the ice-crunchers(3) of Mawaraan-nahr and Khorasan were quite unaware." He, of course, would present here the best specimens of this prose, in spite of all the jealous criticism that his venture would bring upon him.

The author then comes to the proper subject of the risâla - the use of suitable words and the formation of phrases and sentences. It is significant that he advises the use of as few Arabic words as possible, preferably only such as have got two or more senses, capable of artistic effects.

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(1) Wahy-i-Khafî.

(2) It is curious that Shibli (Shi'rulajam II, 134) should describe the work as containing three volumes.

(3) as opposed to used to cold, tepid things. Vide p. 65 (R.I.)

2. The second risala contains specimens of whole letters of all kinds. "That which was a young plant in the first risâla has become a big rose-tree in this, blooming with the breeze of speech and a sweet-voiced bird singing from each of its branches."(1) There are in it official letters, firmâns, letters from elders to their youngers, and vice versâ, letters of lovers, etc. There is among them a letter in Arabic addressed to Shihâbuddîn,(2) and another in pure Persian without a single Arabic word.(3) One chapter contains some new proverbs in Arabic and Persian.(4) There is an interesting letter addressed to Ṣadruddîn, praising the sweetness and flavour of bananas sent by him to the poet.(5) while another describes the virtues of the betel-leaf.(6) Another interesting section deals with music and musicians, as well as the different instruments generally employed.(7) Among the musicians he mentions one Turmatî Khâtûn, who through his assistance was admitted to the royal court. She was placed, subsequently, in charge of all the Persian and Indian court musicians.(8) Other letters relate to astronomy, physics and medicine, chess, hunting, law, etc.

3. In the third risâla the poet explains and illustrates the use of literal or verbal artifices in prose. Some of these he claims to be his own inventions. the risâla is dull and uninteresting.

4. The fourth risâla, comprising altogether five khatts, opens with a long introduction in which the poet relates his discussion with two of his learned friends concerning man,

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(1) P. 2, (R. II.) (2) His patron and friend, p. 168.

(3) P. 173. (4) P. 180 seq. Some of them are quite interesting and ingenius.

(5) P. 242, seq. (6) P. 249, seq.

(7) He names here: paikân, 'ajab-rûd; Chuhra (?), duhul, chang rabâb, daff, nay, tanbur, dastak, dastân, shahnâi, bâblik, damsarfi (?) and batîra.

(8) Other musicians mentioned are Mohd. Shah, Kunjashk, Khalifa Husaini Akhlâq etc. Note that Mohd. Shah is also mentioned by Barni. (p. 199)

his greatness, the means of acquiring an eternal name, and the various styles of elegant prose - that of the mashâ-'ikh or spiritual teachers which may be likened to fire on account of its passion and fiery appeal; that of the old scribes, dull and heavy like earth; that which combines the use of the two great artifices Îhâm and Khayâl, an innovation of the author, which may be compared to water; and finally a peculiar style, rare and elusive like air, a specimen of which may be found in the letter of Badr Hâjib to Prince Khizr Khan.(1)

The risala illustrates the use of the intellectual artifices and contains sentences and letters bearing on different topics - law, exegesis, traditions and morality; philosophy; grammar and lexicography, and logic. Among them there are a firman or proclamation issued by 'Alâuddin Khalji on his accession to the throne of Delhi(2); the letter of Badr Hâjib referred to above(3), a very humorous one describing the mischievous discussions of two refractory youths with their grandfather on points of law(4) another to his son Yamîn-uddin Mubârak, etc.

The risâla closes with a very curious passage descriptive of the red rose, which he compares to various things, and the Prophet's liking for it, as expressed in the tradition "The red rose is of my blood."(5) The passage ends in a fervent prayer to God begging mercy and forgiveness.

The letters in the risâla are short and expressive, and, although replete with figures of speech, are remarkably simple and interesting. Many of them are evidently addressed to fictitious persons, but there are some genuine letters that bear dates. The poet also mentions in them several books relating to various sciences which were apparently popular in his day. Among them are Pamj Ganj, Kanz-i-fiqh, Akhliar-i-Najin, Akhbâr-i-Nayyarain, etc.

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(1) See Elliot, iii 866. (2) p. 104 seq. (R. IV.)
(3) p. 144 seq. (4) p. 177.

(5) الورد الاحمر من عرقي

5. The fifth risala, comprising six khatts, contains, according to the poet's own statement, letters written in his younger days - before he evolved the new style that he explains in the first four risâlas. Amongst the letters the most interesting are:

(1) The proclamation issued by Ghiyâthuddîn Balban after the conquest of Lakhnauti;[1] composed in 680 H.

(2) The letter to Saifuddîn containing a very witty dialogue between the pen and the sword;[2]

(3) One to Najmuddin (Hasan) written in 687 from Oudh, when the author went there with Kaikobad;[3]

(4) A letter addressed to Tâjuddin Zâhid, describing in a very witty manner the havic caused by heavy rains, the destruction of the author's house and other incidents;[4]

(5) Another describing his own sufferings caused by the disease known as 'Rishta' or 'Naru' (rheumatism?)[5]

and (6) four humorous letters descriptive of a miserly Khwaja and his strange doings, the grievances of a 'mukhannath' due to the perverted tastes of the men of the time, and an assembly of ragamuffin clowns, broken-down buffoons and old worn-out dancers.

These last letters are a good specimen of a humour, indecent even to the extent of vulgarity, so popular with old Eastern writers, and not extinct even to-day.

The risâla is followed by a long epilogue of about eighteen pages in which the author speaks of his hard labours, requests to be excused for mistakes and repetitions as he did not have sufficient time to revise the book thoroughly, mentions how his friends, and particularly Shihâbuddin helped him in arranging and revising the work, and begs his critics to be lenient and just in their judgment of its merits.

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(1) P. 5 (R. V.) seq. See also supra. (2) P. 16, seq.
(3) P. 49, seq. (4) P. 57, seq. (5) P. 67, seq.

The epilogue ends on rather a despondent note, expressing regret at the passage of time and the futility of the fame the author has achieved by his labours.

This work has generally been adversely criticised by modern scholars, and it is true that there is not much in it that could interest us to-day. But we must remember that conditions were very different in Khusrau's time, and that the ideas of what constituted elegance and beauty in prose have changed considerably since then. Figures of speech and artifices were the soul of all compositions and their importance was great when Khusrau compiled the work. He at least introduced a healthy change by his innovations inasmuch as he attached more importance to ideas and intellectual figures of speech than to senseless alliterations, quips and puns. He was moreover supplying a pressing need of his age - a comprehensive work in Persian on the science of epistle-writing so eagerly sought-after and so assiduously learnt by all literary men of olden days, and we have no doubt that he succeeded quite well. But even for a sophisticated modern reader there are plenty of things scattered in the pages of the vast book that are both interesting and instructive. There are some useful bits of information about the social condition, the state of learning, the scholars, the sciences, and the political atmosphere of his age. There are, again, some important items concerning the poet's own biography, and there are pieces of a poignant, though perhaps a bit morbid humour, characteristic of a man of Khusrau's wide experience and sociable nature. Here is, for instance, a passage from the fifth risâla that may well remain under the veil of the original:

(1)

Here are, again, some appropriate prayers and curses (for a hunter): "May the bird of his soul perch on the hand of God! God guard him from the hounds of hell! May the crow lay eggs in his fat, may he be attached to the nails of wolves! May he become a hog in his grave!"(2)

For a man named Gurzuddin: دخل الحنش فی استه (3)

From a beloved for her dead lover: "May his soul lie drunk with the sweat of our steed as long as it (the horse) prances on his grave!"(4)

Of a dead chess-player: May he die under the elephant!(5)

Of a very virtuous sheikh: ..... is a bird such that if the egg of Satan be placed beneath him (for hatching) Gabriel will come out of it!(6)

Titles suitable for a buffoon: The ridicule of the age, the laughter of his peers, the accursed of the religion and the faith; the fool of Islam, and the Moslems!(7)

For a clown addressed as Najâsat-uddin, 'the Filth of the Faith.': "May Satan wet his moustache with his urine and may the Devil lay eggs in the hair of his chin."(8)

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(1) From the description of the miserly Khwaja. The 'kaftâr' is a vile, cunning old woman, an attendant of the Khaŷaja.

(2) R. II. K. III. (3) R. II, K. IV. (4) R. II, p. 241.

(5) R. II, p. 291, seq. (6) R. IV, p. 33.

(7) R. V., K. VI:

(8) Ibid.

Here are some satirical phrases: "More tender-hearted than the despoiler of the dead"; "More auspicious than the grave-digger"; "Shyer than the nâdasht"; "Kinder than the blacksmith"; "Gentler than the Governor (âmil)"; "More lawfully nourished than the usurers"; "A better confidant than the backbiters"; more foresighted than the mill-ox"; "more alert than the sleeping hare".(1)

The lithographed edition of Lucknow is fairly correct and bears a brief marginal commentary. The work has never been printed. Manuscripts are numerous.

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(1) Ibid, p. 137.
Nâdâsht, a special sect of "beggars" in India notorious for their obstinate and shamefaced supplications. They carry about horns and bones with which they inflict wounds on their bodies to frighten people, whence their other name, Shâkhshâna.

II. TARÎKH-I-ʿALÂI
Or
Khazâin-Ul- Futûh.. (1)

This short history of the reign of ʿAlâuddin was completed by Khusrau in 711 H. and narrates the events that took place between the years 695 H. and 711 H. Khusrau himself gives the reason for its composition as follows:

"The humble slave Khusrau whose pen, in spite of all its power and versatility, is unable to compass the barest fraction of the glorious king's praises, had been destined to sing of the glories of his reign, and God in His bounty opened to him the doors of all the treasures in the sky and on the earth giving him such jewels as had been denied even to men like Buhtarî and Abû Tammâm. Yet still these priceless jewels were not worthy of being scattered on the heaven-like threshold of the mighty monarch. But as nowhere in the market of nature could one obtain a better commodity, I had, perforce, to be content with stringing them together for a present in the hope that they will be accepted by the king who is an ocean of generosity. When I saw that the wry and twisted words of this slave won the benign approval of the king, I was tempted to try my hand in prose, as I had done in poetry for perchance the king may deign to look at my composition as the sun looks at the capable[2] stone. Although my pen has always been devoted to poetry and has left untouched the beauties of prose, I dare present this bride to the king,

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(1) Khusrau gives the name خزاین الفتوح in the opening verse which heads the work این نامه که لفظ فتح دارد در جریده نام خزاین الفتوح است از عجب
The praise of God and the Prophet, of course, follows.

(2) Sang-i-Qâbil i.e. the stone capable of turning into a ruby or a diamond by the light of the sun.

knowing that the eye of great men does not pry into defects.[1] If I had an eternal life I could not spend it better than in singing the praises of the king, but as I know that life is short, I had to be content with having just a handful of water from the unfathomable sea of his excellence."[2]

As this is the only contemporary history of ʿAlâuddin's reign, its historical importance can hardly be exaggerated, and Khusrau, as in his historical poems, has narrated the facts with an admirable accuracy and wealth of detail. His language may be ornate and complicated, and his eoniums of the king high-flown and exaggerated, but his narrative is consistent and undistorted, and a thorough and comparative study of the work is sure to be amply repaid.[3]

From the literary point of view the book is as good, or as bad, as any of its kind, the Tâjul-Maâthir, for instance. But it is certainly original in style. Khusrau has utilised in it all the various artifices he has outlined in the Iʿjâz-i-Khusravî, the most striking being the division of the narrative into paras of unequal length, each composed of analogies derived from a particular thing - the stars, the water, fire, and so on. The idea itself is a good one: it introduces variety into an otherwise hum-drum narrative and splits it up into divisions, each devoted to a particular topic, and in this respect it resembles another important innovation of Khusrau's - writing parts of a mesnevi in different metres. But one cannot help feeling sorry for the loss of time and energy engendered by the adoption of such an artificial style in prose, and it is not very easy to follow the sense clearly through all the mazes of similes and metaphors. Khusrau, essentially a poet, has produced a work of art rather than a

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(1) A proverb: الحالعيب ماحال عين العلى

(2) My translation is not literal. It gives only the sense o f the original which is highly complicated and ornate.

(3) I have already utilised much of the historical material contained in it and have pointed out the faultiness of Elliot's translation.

history: and although he has told the historical facts well, he could have told them better in a simpler and less laboured style.

The contents of the work, most of which we have already utilised, are as follows:

'Alâuddin's expedition to Deogir when governor of Karra and Mânakpore (Rabi II, 695 H.) (1)

His march on Delhi and accession to the throne the same year. (2)

The measures adopted by him for the spread of peace and prosperity in the kingdom, and for the suppression of heresy and unlawful practices. (3)

His buildings: The Jâmî Masjid, the 'Alâi Mînâr, the ramparts of Delhi, the Shamsî tank. (4)

His successful campaigns against the Mongols and the dire punishment meted out to them. (5)

The Conquest of Gujrat (698 H.) and of Rathambhor (700 H.). (6)

The Conquest of Malwa (705 H.) (7)

Of Chilor, (703 H.); Punitive expedition against Deogir, under Malik Kâfûr (706 H.) and the conquest of Siwana by the king himself in 708 H. (8)

The Conquest of Tilang (Talingana) by Malik Kâfûr, 709 H. (9)

The Conquest of Ma'bar by Malik Kâfûr, 710 H. and the return of the victorious armies to Delhi in 711 H. (10)

Khusrau concludes with a short epilogue containing excuses for what he calls an imperfect and faulty composition, and prays God to make it acceptable to the king and popular with all men. (11)

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(1) fol. 4b. (2) fol 5b and 6. (3) foll. 7b - 11.
(4) foll. 11b - 15b. (5) Foll. 16 - 22. (6) foll. 22-26.
(7) foll. 26- 29. (8) fol. 29. (9) foll. 32- 35.
(10) ff. 35-56. (11) foll. 84-85.

The following literal translation of a passage will suffice to give an idea of the highly artificial style of this history.

"When the army of the Turks that is an ocean of fire has already burnt the thatched dwellings of our towns, it is apparent that its flames are powerful enough to convert the stones of our fortress into lime. This fortress called Dhur-Samandar, situated by a river, has always been held in respect and even if we cannot totally put out the fire of the Turks' swords when it leaps up into flames, we should at least try to quench it, and since we have all to burn, let us not die without honour." The Rai became hot at their words and thus disclosed the fire that burnt in his breast: 'Our old and respectable fire-worshippers, the lamps of whose minds burnt bright, have said clearly that never can the Hindu stay before the Turk or fire before water. When it is so we can do nothing but turn our faces away from the heat of the flames of the Turks' daggers. Let us not pour water[1] lest it be like oil on their flames and make us the fodder of fire in our lives. Let us discard insolence and pride and like water place our heads on the ground to meet them, for thus perchance may the fire of their anger be a little cooled down.'"[2]

The curious innovation of giving dates in the form of enigmas, first explained by Khusrau in his Íjâz-i-Khusravî, has been very successfully employed by him in this work. The method, if a little puzzling, is, as Elliot points out, very helpful in the preservation of dates which, if given in figures or even words, are liable to gross mutilation and transformation in the hands of a careless scribe.[3] Thus the date of the defeat and

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(1) Ab rekhtan = to pour or shed water = to dishonour or put to shame.

(2) Fol. 64b. The passage describes an argument between the rajah of Dhur-Samandar and his advisers. The rajah is reluctant to fight. The analogies are all from water and fire.

(3) For examples, see Elliot iii, 68.

and capture of ʿAlî Beg and Turtâq is given in the following sentence: در تاریخ نسال معلوم شد که بای علی بیگ در سلسله افتد و سر و پای ترتاق نیز همانجا گرفتار آید

To find the date we have to add together the values of the 'foot' (= tail or the last letter) of ʿAlî Beg, i.e. together with that of سلسله to the values of the 'head' (= first letter) and 'foot' of Turtâq, i.e. ت and ق
The total is thus 20 + 185 + 400 + 100 = 705 H.

Another striking feature of the work is the use of many single Arabic verses (افراد), all composed by the poet himself, some of which are quite original in spirit. Thus he says of the elephants:
وسار الفیل والنظار قالوا: أقیم الحشر سیرت الجبال
Of ʿAlâ'uddîn's military prowess:

وقد فتحت بصولته قلاع ؛ کازهار النشقائق بالریاح

Manuscripts of the work are very rare. The B.M. manuscript[1], which I have consulted, is a fairly well-written copy and is complete. A lithographed edition has recently been published in Aligarh (1927). It is copied from the B.M. ms. referred to above, but unfortunately is full of mistakes, due either to faulty transcription or to careless editing.[2] A careful and annotated edition of this would therefore be highly desirable.

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(1) Or. 1638. The only other known MS is in the King's College Library (Cambridge). Or. 1638 was given to the Museum by Col. Yule.

(2) This is really deplorable, since the Editor, Mr. Mu'în-ul-Haq, according to his own statement, was helped by a number of eminent scholars in the preparation of the text published under the auspices of the Sultâniyah Historical Society. (See Preface p. 5.)

III. AFZAL-UL-FAWÂ'ID

Afzal-ul-Fawâ'id,[1] a comparatively short work, is a collection of the sayings of Nizâmuddîn Auliya, the author's spiritual guide. Written apparently in imitation of his contemporary Hasan's larger work, Fawâid-ul-fu'âd, the Afzal-ul-Fawâ'id is a book entirely different from either the Ijâz-i-Khusrawî or the Khazâin-ul-futûh. Its language, extremely simple, easy, and unadorned by any figures of speech, provides a good specimen of Persian as it was spoken in Khusrau's time.

There is very little in this work that would attract the attention of an ordinary reader, but bits of useful information may be gleaned here and there by one interested in things spiritual. One may also, incidentally, find in it a few details about Khusrau's own spiritual career, and something about his contemporaries, such as frequented the assemblies of the saint[2] and listened to his saintly utterances or to the more convivial songs of the qhawwâls that kept them awake and restless with spiritual ecstasy. It is divided into four parts. The first part opens with a high-flown eulogy of the saint, and describes the poet's formal initiation into his spiritual circle in 713 H., when the saint gave him a four-cornered cap and an upper vest (بارانی). Khusrau presented this portion to the saint in Jumâd II 719 H., and the saint granted him permission to continue the work, praising his efforts very highly, and giving away as a reward his own cap and robe. The second part, commenced after 719 H., was evidently left incomplete by Khusrau.[3]

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(1) Khusrau gives the name on p. 110 when mentioning the presentation to the saint. (Delhi edition, 1304 H.)

(2) Among them are: Najmuddîn Hasan 'Alâ-i-Sanjari, the poet, Maulâna Wajîh-uddin Pâili, Maulana Shihâbuddin of Meerut, Maulana Burhân-uddin Gharîb, Osman Sayyah, etc.

(3) See pp. 110 and 130.

The following about music may be of interest:

"Then they talked of how some darweshes when dancing in an assembly of Simâ' cry out and raise unmannerly shouts, and the Kwaja (God reward him well) spoke thus in his benign way: 'They do a very bad thing, for the people of Simâ' have never done that, and it is not the way of the perfect ones. This sort of behaviour comes only from deluded novices, for Hasan Basari has said that if a person shouts in Sima you should be sure he is a devil and comes from the devil. A really spiritual man is transported to the world of angels and is not forbidden from motion or dancing, for he swims in the ocean of cognisance (معرفة gnosis) and is unconscious of the existence of the eighteen thousand world. Even as the gold melts in the crucible, so do the people of Simâ' in the world of bewilderment.'"(1)

Here again is a passage about the mazâmîr or musical instruments:(2)

"On Thursday, the seventh of Shawwâl, I had the good fortune of kissing the Sheikh's feet. They were at that time talking of Simâ' and of those who listen to it, and just then a man came in and related that at a certain place a number of the saint's disciples had gathered together and had with them musical instruments. The Khwaja thereupon said: 'I have often forbidden the use of such instruments and other unlawful things. What they have done is not good.' And he laid great stress upon this point, even saying that the palm of one hand should not be struck upon the other, nor the back of one hand upon the palm of the other, meaning that clapping was strictly prohibited,(3) and that it was better not to use instruments .....

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(1) P. 112. (2) Pp. 126-127. Mazâmîr (sing. mizmâr) are particularly musical pipes or flutes (cf. the Persian nây) Certain musical instruments, such as the 'daff' (timbrel) or the 'sitâr' have been declared to be lawful by some authorities.

(3) Dastak, (Hindi, Tâl) beating time with hands, is a usual accompaniment of singing in the East.

He said afterwards: 'All great sheikhs have listened to simâ', and those who know its real worth and have taste and emotion are moved by a single verse heard from a musician, whether there be any instrument or not. But if one lacks the requisite taste it avails him nothing that there be a number of musicians with instruments singing before him.' So we know that this affair depends upon emotion and feeling and not on musical instruments."

CHAPTER V.

KHUSRAU'S HINDI POETRY

Whether Khusrau wrote any Hindi poetry has recently been the subject of controversy. The old biographers and anthologists, both eastern and western, generally took it for granted that he did, and quoted ghazels, conundrums, verses etc., given out to be Khusrau's, in their anthologies, without the least hesitation or misgiving as to their genuineness. But modern scholars, especially those who have made a special study of the development of Hindi in India, are inclined to be sceptical about them. Their language, they point out, is very modern, almost identical, in fact, with the Khari boli or spoken dialect of to-day, and very different from other specimens of Hindi found in prose and poetry of undoubted antiquity and established authorship.

That Khusrau knew Hindi (or Hindui, as it was called in his time) we have no reason to doubt. He was born in India which had been his ancestors' home for several generations, and his mother was of Indian origin.(1) He must, then, have been thoroughly conversant with the spoken Hindi of his age, and much more familiar with it than were other contemporary writers who knew the language only through occasional contact with such Indians as could not speak Persian - their domestic servants, merchants, and so on. We have, moreover, ample proof of his proficiency in this language in his own writings.

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(1) This is clear from what he says about his maternal grandfather, 'Imād-ul-Mulk. See supra. That the latter was of a dark complexion and so fond of betel-leaves would show his Indian origin.

He uses Hindi words in several of his works, moderately and sparingly it is true, but very aptly.(1) That he does not employ them more often is not due to any want of knowledge but to his sensible dislike for introducing too many foreign words into a language that had already been losing its pristine purity in its new home. "It is not very pleasant," he remarks, to introduce Hindui words into pure Persian, except when unavoidable. I have used them only where absolutely necessary.(2)" His own statements would indeed show that he knew Hindi better than Arabic and that he was quite proud of this. "I am an Indian Turk," he declares, "and can reply to you in Hindi. I have no Egyptian sugar to talk of Arabia and Arabic."(3) "As I am in fact," he says again, "the Parrot of India, question me in Hindui that I may talk sweetly."(4)

But did Khusrau write any poetry in the language which he professes to know so well? A man of Khusrau's genius and temperament, one would think, could not help doing so, and he actually did so, according to his own statement made in words quite unequivocal. When speaking of his own works in the preface to his third dîwân, he says: "I have scattered among my friends a few chapters of Hindui poetry also, but I would be content here with a mere mention of this fact."(5) Moreover, he gives a few speciments of verses capable of being interpreted both in Persian and Hindi.(6) It is no wonder,

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(1) Thus he uses: basîth, pardhân, mâr-mâr etc. in Khazam-ul-futûh; katâra (a dagger)

(2) Dibâcha to the Gurr. C.f. Ashiqa.

(3) Ibid:

(4) Ibid:

(5) Ibid پسندہ کردم

(6) Thus: جزوی چند نظم ہندوی نیز نثر دوستان کردہ مشروح است اینجا بذکری آری آری ہمہ بیاری آئی ؛ ماری ماری برہ ماری ؛ Cf.

A similar quatrain is ascribed to him but unfortunately I could not trace it in any of the MSS I consulted. It is as follows: رفتم تماشای کنا رجوئی ؛ دیدم بلب آب زن ہندوئی ؛ گفتم صنما بہای زلفت چو بود ؛ فریاد برآورد کہ دور شو ؛

(See Sir G. Ouseley's Notices, p. 15).

indeed, if Khusrau wrote Hindi verses, for according to his own statement, supported by other authorities, earlier poets of foreign origin had done so. Mas'ûd, Sa'd b. Salmân who lived many years before Khusrau was born is said to have composed a whole dîwân in that language,(1) and if we believe Firishta and Nizâmuddin, Hindi poetry was composed as early as the time of Mahmûd of Ghazna.(2)

We have, however, no records whereby to judge the probable volume of Khusrau's Hindi poetry. His own statement, quoted above, would show that there was not much of it, and the assertion that it exceeded in bulk his Persian poetry would seem to be a little exaggerated. Nor, on the other hand, could the 'few chapters' referred to by Khusrau be all that he produced, for he lived many years after he wrote the preface to the Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl and must have made numerous additions.(3)

Unfortunately Khusrau seems to have had very little regard for his own Hindi verses. He probably scribbled the verses on bits of paper, and 'scattered' them, as he says himself, among his friends and thought no more of them. The production of Hindi poetry was to him a mere pastime, a diversion from his more serious efforts in Persian, the language of Firdausi, Khâqâni, Nizâmi and Sa'dî,- the language of his own ancestors,- which could never be equalled in importance by the language of Hindustan whatever the poet's sentimental regard for it might have been. We can easily understand

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(1) Dibâcha of Ghurra. Cf. Majma'-ul-Fusahâ, I, 515.

(2) Nanda, the Raja of Kalanjar is said to have addressed a panegyric in Hindi verse to Mahmûd. Firishta Vol. I,31. (Year 413 H.)

(3) This,incidentally,also contradicts Garcin de Tassy's statement that Khusrau did not write any Hindi poetry except at the end of his life. He was only 37 when he collected the Ghurra and he had already written some. (Lit. Hind. I, 301.)

Khusrau's neglect of his Hindi verses when we consider that even in comparatively modern times Persian was considered to be the literary language par excellence by the Mohammadans of India. Ghâlib, the great poet of Delhi, whose fame to-day rests almost entirely on his small dîwân of Hindustani or Urdu poetry, attached a much greater importance to his Persian poetry which few Indians read to-day. "Look at my Persian verse," he says, "if you want to see multi-coloured images, and leave aside my Urdu collection, for it is devoid of my true colour."(1) It is certain, therefore, that Khusrau never collected his Hindi verses in his life, and probably no collections were made immediately after his death. All, then, that we could expect to inherit of them through long centuries would be odds and ends, scrappy poems and isolated verses that caught the fancy of the populace and were transmitted orally or through private collections or biyâḍs to the succeeding generations. And such is exactly the nature of what to-day is alleged to be Khusrau's Hindi poetry.(2)

This poetry, the genuineness of which has been subjected to grave doubts in recent times, consists mostly of small songs, dohâs (couplets), riddles and conundrums, a ghazel with alternate Persian and Hindi lines, a 'mukhammas' with every fifth line in Persian, some quatrains, and the small tract known as 'Khâliq Bârî, a poem of mixed vocabulary. Most of it has been consistently and persistently ascribed to Khusrau by the old anthologists who apparently never doubted its authorship; but grave doubts can be raised on this point on linguistic grounds. The language of this poetry is the language of to-day.(3) How could Khusrau, in the thirteenth century, know

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(1) فارسی بین تا به بینی نقشهای رنگ رنگ بگذر از مجموعهٔ اردو که بی رنگ من است

(2) See Khusrau Kî Hindi Kawîta; Misr Bandhu Vinad (Hist. of Hindi Lit. by Misra Brothers, Vol. I, pp. 233-280); Âbi Hayât (Delhi 1896, pp. 65-71); Garcin de Tassy (I, p.301)

(3) It is wrong to assume that the Hindi in which Khusrau wrote was Brij Bhasha. Brij Bhasha and the dialect spoken in Delhi are two different branches of Western Hindi.

the Hindi which is spoken now round and about Delhi? Why has no other old Hindi writer used that language? The questions are pertinent, and it is not easy to answer them. We do not know what exactly was the Hindi of Khusrau's time, for there is no specimen of it except what we find in these disputed verses. We know that Hindi[1] was the name given in his time to a dialect spoken in and about Delhi, that the dialect had fairly developed by that time, was capable of literary and artistic effects,[2] and that poems were composed in it.[3] What reason, we may ask, is there to suppose that the dialect has changed a good deal since then - that the spoken Hindi of his day was materially different from the Hindi of to-day? A language, once it has crystallised into a definite form, would not change very much with the lapse of time, least of all in India where everything moves so slowly and where there have been really few influences of foreign linguistic elements. Why can't we believe that a peasant or a 'bania' of Delhi in the 13th century spoke almost the same language as his descendants to-day, when we know that the latter have almost the same physique, and physiognomy, the same dress, the same habits, and the same customs as their remote ancestors had? One can well imagin a Delhi jat driving out his team of bullocks in the early morning with a 'chaddar' wrapped round his sturdy limbs, to be the exact image of his great-great-grand-father. Why can't we imagine his words to be the exact echo of that distant ancestor's?

It would, therefore, seem to me to be unreasonable to declare this poetry apocryphal on linguistic grounds. There may be parts of it which are later compositions tacked on to the genuine ones: that has happened in every country and in

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(1) More correctly Hindui, for that is how Khusrau always calls it.

(2) See Nuh Sipihr and the 'Ashiqa. (3) See Supra.

every age[1]. But there must have been an original foundation, a real prototype (although it would, of course, be very difficult to recognise it among the clever graftings and superstructures) and that foundation could not necessarily have been very different from the additions.[2] It is possible, again, that succeeding copyists have made slight modifications according to the idiom of the time in the forms of the words employed by Khusrau. Yet the intrinsic excellence of some of these poems, the originality of their style, and the wit and humour pervading them mark them out clearly to be the work of a great master like Khusrau, and we have no reasons to disbelieve the popular tradition when it says that Khusrau himself wrote them. Their meagre volume would, moreover, preclude the probability of any wholesale grafting.

The other objection, namely that when the oldest Hindi are in High Hindi which was the recognised literary language of old times, why should Khusrau's poems be in 'Kharî boli'[3], can be easily answered. Khusrau's greatest passion was originality. He always wanted to do something new, to break away, as far as possible, from the trammels of custom and tradition and to tread paths hitherto untouched by human feet. His Persian poetry and prose are sufficient proof of the existence in him of this dominant passion, and it is easily conceivable that the same love of innovation goaded him to write Hindi verse in a new style. He had, moreover, probably no intention and no ambition to leave behind him a literary monument in Hindi, a classic like the Padamâwat of Mohd. Jaysi[4].

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(1) The rubâiyât of Omar Khayyam are an eloquent instance of this tendency.

(2) The very fact that these things have been, from oldest times, ascribed to Khusrau would show that Khusrau did write something of the sort. There would be no point, for instance in ascribing a fine landscape to an artist who painted only portraits.

(3) Vide History of Hindi Literature by Misra Brothers (Vol. I, Introduction, p. vi.)

(4) See Introduction (p. I.) to Text edited by Grierson and Sudhakara (Calcutta 1911). Other old writers were Chandra Barde and Vidyapati Thakur (1400 A.D.). It may be interesting to note that this book is in the Oudhi dialect, which was apparently different from the Hindi of Delhi in Khusrau's time.

and so had no occasion to follow any literary traditions and regulations. He wrote Hindi verse just to amuse himself and his friends, and he could, one would think, do that best in the ordinary, familiar language of every-day talk. Most of the poems, songs, riddles, etc., such as are given in Khusrau's Hindi Kawita, have therefore to be taken as Khusrau's compositions, in the absence of any convincing proofs to the contrary.

I would like to say here only a few words about the versified Persian-Hindi vocabulary, the Khâliq Bârî, popularly ascribed to Khusrau. The work, a small one in its present form but said to have been originally written in several volumes, possesses very little of literary interest, though a linguist may find it instructive. It is divided into parts of unequal length in different metres, giving Hindi equivalents for Persian and Arabic words.

The authorship of this work has been the subject of much controversy. The author of Jawâhir-i-Khusrawî recently tried to prove that it was really Khusrau's work. He was supported in hus conclusion by my able friend Syed Mas'ûd Hasan Rizavî of the Lucknow University. Their arguments briefly are as follows:

1. Khusrau's age was a time when the need for such a vocabulary was pressing and a man of his versatile genius and indefatigable energy was sure to turn his attention to it;

2. It has always been considered to be Khusrau's composition. The author of 'Allâh Khudâi', written in imitation of Khâliq Bârî, in 1060 H. , for instance, seeks help from the soul of Khusrau in the opening verses of his poem;

3. It contains certain words, such as 'jîtal', common in Khusrau's time, but unfamiliar to later writers.

4. The last verse contains Khusrau's name so aptly and naturally as to leave no doubt about the authorship.

But another scholar who has made a careful study of the development of Urdu, especially in the Punjab, is disinclined to agree with the above view and thinks it is a shame to ascribe to a great poet like Khusrau a work that is of no literary value, corrupt in its arrangement, and full of repetitions, defects of rhyme and irregularities of metre.(1)

The essentially discursive and matter-of fact nature of the work, giving but few opportunities for the display of poetic talent, makes it all the more difficult to come to any definite conclusion about the Khâliq Bârî, and much can be said for and against its being from the poem of Khusrau. It may or may not be Khusrau's work, and even if it be, can hardly add much to the glory of the Parrot of India. What would a little feather of a sombre hue signify in a plumage glittering with gold and silver and the brightest colours of the rainbow? It is, I think, idle to discuss the question any further, unless we can get fresh material for coming to a surer decision. The work in question is hardly of sufficient importance for hot controversies to be waged over its origin.

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(1) Punjab men Urdu (Urdu in the Punjab) by Hâfiz Mahmûd Sherâni. Lahore, 1927.

CHAPTER VI.

KHUSRAU- THE MAN

There have been in the history of the world but few instances of a scholar or a poet acquiring a popularity and a fame like that of Khusrau. We may think, perhaps, of Byron and Shakespeare in England, of Goethe in Germany and of Sa'dî in Persia. But it was the personality of Khusrau, his ready wit, his flowing humour, his versatile genius and his genial nature, rather than his poetry that rendered him known all over India. Centuries have elapsed since the 'Parrot of India' sang his last song and the voice that had charmed princes and peasants was hushed for ever, yet the memory of his name is as fresh to-day as ever. One may still hear a venerable old man relate an anecdote about the poet to eager young ears, a street urchin shout out a particularly gay couplet of the poet while intent on his game of marbles, darweshes dancing in mad rapture to the words of one of his ghazels, and women singing in melodious chorus some of his Hindi songs.

The first thing that strikes one from a perusal of Khusrau's work is a keen sense of humour. He was comparatively a religious man, observed probably the principal ordinances, said his prayers, and fasted.(1) He did not drink wine, or at least was not addicted to it. In his old age he was a regular attendant at the monastery of his sheikh. Yet he was not a dry ascetic. He laughed and sang, listened to beautiful dancing

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(1) See his fine qasida, written in Ramazân, (B.N., I.O. MS. 1187 ff. 35-38) beginning

and another with the rhyme روزه ; also :

and ماه من روزه میان شکر ستان دارد ؛ ای مسلمانان کسی روزه بدین سان دارد

ماه من روزه میان شکر ستان دارد ؛ ای مسلمانان کسی روزه بدین سان دارد

girls, and was present at the merry wine-parties of princes, and was as much at home in a motley crowd of buffoons and clowns as in a learned gathering of savants.(1) He saw the misery in life and was sometimes sad, but he carried his sorrows lightly. He saw what was ridiculous and droll, and he laughed at it. He laughed at pedantic scholars, at intolerant bigots, at hypocritical sufis, at miserly princes, and at ambitious plagiarists. Yet his laughter had in it nothing of malice, it was as light as his spirits, good-humoured and amusing.

A great tolerance, such as must have been rare in his age, is the other prominent feature of the poet's character. He had few racial, religious, or social prejudices. He was proud of his Turkish descent, but he was loud in his praise of India - its sweet flowers, its language, and its dark beauties, and had not the slightest touch of that bitter sentiment that made Kwaja-i-Kalân utter the well-known verse on the eve of his departure from India: "If once I cross the Indus in peace and safety. and think again of returning to India, may my face be blackened."(2)

It is true, he could not free himself entirely from a certain amount of haughty pride and a contempt for the conquered race. He calls the Hindus 'crow-faced', warns the King against allowing them too much power,(3) ridicules some of their rites and beliefs(4), and seems to be jubilant over the destruc-

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(1) See Ijâz-i-Khusravi. That Khusrau was not a rigid abstainer may be seen from the following (I.O. ms. 1187, f.144

مرا سوال کنی ہر زمان کہ خر چہ بود ؛ اگر تو می خوری نام تو دگر چہ بود ؛
ز ذوق بادہ صراحی نہ آگہست آری ؛ ز نقش آب بط کوزہ را خبر چہ بود ؛
ازیں سپس من و سیمے و کباب و مطرب و مے ؛ حریف ہر کہ در آید شراب اش چہ بود

(2) اگر ز خیر و سلامت گذر زنند کنم ؛ سیاہ روی ز شرم گر ہوای ہند کنم
Vide Bahur-Namah (Bev. Trans. II, 525; Text f. 296)

(3) See supra. (4) He says, 'I am amazed at the dung-worshipping Hindus', alluding to their reverential belief in the virtues of cow-dung (ولی ز ہندوی سرگین پرست در عجبم) and elsewhere:

با ہندوان ستم ز آدمیان ؛ کہ کہ گاو مبارک گیرند ؛ بوالعجب کوں خرانی کہ ز جہل ؛
با نگ خر فال مبارک گیرند ؛
B.M. MS. 25807, fol. 437b)

tion of their temples. But at the same time he is sincerely touched by the grievances of the Hindu ryots and is emphatic in his denunciation of oppressive 'âmils and 'arwâns. He often praises the Hindus in his writings. He admires their learning, their language, their devotedness and faithfulness, quite as enthusiastically as the warlike exploits of their conquerors.

It was due to this broadmindedness and want of prejudice that Khusrau acquired such a popularity. He was sought after by everyone. His presence in an assembly lighted, so to say, another candle. Nobles and princes contested for his services and vied with one another in rewarding him. Khusrau, on his part, was apparently quite content to pass from one patron to another. Like a wandering minstrel he went from door to door, tuned his lyre to a different pitch according to time and convenience, and sang with as much gusto the praises of a murderer as those of his victim. But we should not judge him by his glowing odes alone. Khusrau had to write them to earn his bread and to keep peace with those in power. That he had, in fact, a strong hatred for high-flown panegyrics is clear from several of his remarks. He had an inherent dislike for falsehood and hypocrisy, but circumstances often forced him to throttle his conscience. Yet he never stooped to meanness, and never degraded his art by a wholesale production of panegyrics. His 'mamdûḥ', as he himself claims, was always a king or a prince, and he never betrayed a patron in whose service he happened to be. If he praised other men, it was only at the request of his patron and then too he 'poured just a drop of his own pure honey into the cup of their praise'[2] without the slightest expectation of monetary reward.

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(1) "My poetry is not like that of other poets," he says, "for I have never praised any other than the patron in whose service I have been." (Dîbâcha to Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl)

(2) ؎ از عسل بی مخل خود بقدر مگسی در قدح مدح او ریختم :

"If, however," he declares, "they out of their generosity offered some reward and I accepted it, it was no more than the price of the paper that contained my verses - even if it was a thousand 'nabâtî' tangahs, for .... no one can buy a single verse from me, as nobody could ever sell paradise."(1)

He was generous with his money, and had the greatest contempt for miserliness. He shared his rich earnings with his friends and relatives, and it is in his dealings with these that we see the real man that lay concealed under the mask of the courtier and the panegyrist. His love for his mother was unbounded and he loved his brothers and his own children with a great affection. Two of his sons died in his lifetime and he mouns them in some of the finest elegies in his dîwâns.(2) His daughter, too, had a huge share of his affections and he has addressed a whole chapter of the Hasht Bihisht to her.(3) The advices given by the poet to his "paradise daughter" would, of course, appear to be stern and puritanic to a modern reader. One may almost conclude from some of them, as Shibli does,(4) that Khusrau did not think too highly of the intellectual and moral strength of women and was an advocate for rigorous confinement. But what else could one expect from any man of that age? That he had the highest esteem for the tender love of a mother, a sister or a wife, we cannot deny,(5) and if he has been led to make some disparaging remarks about women in general, we should not condemn him hastily. He is

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(1) Dîbâcha: Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl:
یک بیت را زمن نتوانند خرید کس ؛ زیرا کہ کس بہشت برین را بہا نکرد

(2) Their names were Muhammad and Hâjî. See elegies in the Kulliyât.

(3) Nawal kishore p. 21 seq.

(4) Shi'ulajam, II, p. 125.

(5) See the passage in Leyla and Majnûn where the poet speaks of his mother. One of the proverbial expressions given by him in I'jâz-i-Khusravi is "A charity more sincere than the love of sisters."

certainly much more respectful towards them than the great Persian writer Sa'dî.

Unlike Sa'dî, again, Khusrau never preaches duplicity and hypocrisy. He himself avoided these as far as possible in word and deed, and always advised others to be frank and sincere. He had numerous friends and to some of them he was greatly attached and always expressed his gratitude for their help. He had numerous rivals, too, some of whom seem to have harassed him a good deal, but he did not worry himself about them. His attitude towards them was one of good-humoured contempt, for he knew he was far above them.(1) With the mostpowerful of them, Hasan, he had indeed formed a deep friendship and often styles him 'my brother.'

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(1) He says: "The barking of dogs on a full-moon night denotes only the perfection of the moon." (Dîbacha to Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl.

نباح الکلب لیتہد لیل بدر ؛ علی ان نباح الکلب لجرم بدر

(2) See supra (Life)

CHAPTER VII.

KHUSRAU - THE ARTIST.

Among the first and foremost essentials of poetry, and especially that of the highest order, is a keen sense of the picturesque and the beautiful, as well as the ugly and the grotesque, and withal a power to portray the aspects of nature in a manner both convincing and lucid. The poet has to choose his fancies and to choose his words; he has to select such particulars as will best illustrate his point, and to tell them in the most suitable words. Descriptive poetry, in particular, requires a great command of language and a very judicious selection and combination of words, and Khusrau was undoubtedly one of the few Persian poets who have excelled in this art.

Nizâmî, in his Khamsa, has produced some wonderful specimens of descriptive poetry. His language is affected and his analogies sometimes far-fetched, but on the whole the result is a highly artistic picture.(1) Sa'dî, too, comes out occasionally with a very brilliant simile or metaphor. But no poet before Khusrau's time had developed the art to such perfection as he did. The whole of his poem Qirân-us-Sa'dain, as we have seen, is a collection of brilliant pen-pictures illustrating various and diverse things. Similar and equally good sketches are abundantly scattered throughout his works. He describes briefly and vigorously. Thus, to quote an instance, he says of the wily slave engaged by Khusrau Parwîz to give Farhâd the false news of Shîrîn's death:

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(1) For some very fine examples see "Über die Bildersprache Nizamis" by Hellmut Ritter (1927).

"The King had a negro guard, sour-visaged, wry-tongued. In his demon-like face he resembled a minister of hell, and in his senseless talk he was like the jack-daw. His belly was like a furnace full of fire and his mouth like an irreconcilable money-lender. Nobody ever saw his mouth closed or one of his lips touch the other. Quarrelsome, of devilish disposition, a scoundrel ready to fight and scuffle, he abused vilely those whom he praised before their faces. If one was absent from his home for some days, he would tell his relatives that he was dead. He laughed merrily in funerals and scattered dust on his head in weddings."

He says in his description of the Yâjûj:(1)

"A crowd wandering everywhere like demons, they shamed with their swift movements the ghouls of the wilderness. Countless in numbers, scattered over miles and miles, they are like the sand particles in a desert or the thorns on a mountain. If they betook themselves to a river to drink from it, in a moment the river would be dry. Flowers and grass disappear wherever they go. Their eyes are as small as those of the carcass-eating dogs and in the length of their ears they have excelled asses, and neither modesty nor wisdom can one behold in those narrow eyes and those long ears. Their ears hang down unto their feet like a skirt, yet hide none of their ugliness. They go to sleep contentedly with one ear below and the other above, for their ears are their cloaks, their armour, their silk and cotton garments. Their brows wrinkled knot upon know and their beards hanging down to their knees, their bodies covered with a blanket of thick hair, their eyelashes yellow, their faces red and their eyes blue, ... they have big bellies, small feet and long nails. They appear naked before one another freely and have shame neither before a child nor a mother. Day and night they revel in concupiscence

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(1) Aina-i-Sikandari.

and none of them dies unless he has produced a thousand. In their fruitless mountains and inauspicious abode where an owl could be called a bird of good omen, they can get no better food than the khartût."(1)

Other instances of Khusrau's wonderful power of portraiture can be found in his descriptions of the captive Mongols,(2) the charms of Leyla and Dewaldî, the musicians and dancing-girls,(3) and scores of other passages.

He was also a great artist in the selection of apt similes; and here, too, we discover instances of his originality. He would disregard, for example, the old classic simile of comparing the graceful gait of the beloved to that of a peacock or a pheasant, and liken it instead to that of a pigeon.(4) The killing eyes of the beloved he would compare to Hindu robbers with 'katâras' rather than to murderous Turks.(5)

The use of musical words and metres(6) is, again, one of his great characteristics, and he often produces a quaint effect by the use of an unfamiliar rhyme. Thus, one of his ghazels has for its rhyme words like Tatta, Jatta, latta, matta, patta, albatta, etc.(7)

This naturally brings us to the question of Khusrau's attainments in music. He has since very remote times been regarded as equally great in music as in poetry, and as able to express in musical numbers even the sounds produced by a gong or a carder's bow.(8) Tradition, again, ascribes to him

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(1) A kind of insipid mulberry. (2) Qiran-us-Sa'dain.

(3) Nu Sipihr.

(4) Dibacha of Ghurrat-ul-Kamâl:

حزام آں صنم نازنین بیقراری ببندد (بعیاری)
کبوتری بحزام آمده است هندواری

(5) سر آں دو چشم گردم که چو هندوان رهزن ؛ همه را ز نوک مژگان بجگر زده کتاره

(6) See Nuh Sipihr (supra).

(7) سروی چو تو در اوجه و در تته نباستند ؛ گل مثل رخ خوب تو البته نباشد

(8) He is said to have expressed the latter thus:

از لچ جانان جان هم رفت ، جان هم رفت ، جان هم رفت ، اینهم رفت و آنهم رفت
آنهم رفت ، آنهم رفت ، اینهم ، آنهم ، اینهم ، آنهم ، آنهم رفت الخ
(Vide Âb-i-Hayât)

the invention of the sitar as well as of several new melodies compounded of Persian and Indian tunes, and he is said to have defeated in an open contest a famous musician of Deccan, Nâyak Gopal by name.(1) That Khusrau had studied well the science of music is abundantly clear from his writings. He seems to have been quite familiar with the Persian system and to have known well all its intricacies - the four usûls, the twelve 'pardahs,' and so on.(2) He knew well also the Indian system and was a great admirer of it.(3) Musical contests, too, would appear to be a favourite pastime of his day, and Khusrau did apparently take a keen interest and an active part in them.(4) It is quite reasonable, therefore, to believe that he made some attempts to combine the Persian and Indian systems and to evolve new melodies characteristic of the new Indo-Persian culture of India. But it is difficult to determine exactly the extent or importance of the modifications introduced by him. According to an old Persian work on Indian music (which is supposed to be a translation of an older work written in the time of Râja Mansingh of Gwaliyar), he invented the following new melodies: Mujîr, sâzgarî, aiman, ushshûq, muwâfiq, ghanam, zîlaf, Farghâna, Sarparda, Bakhâz, firodast, munam (?), qaul, tarâna, khayâl, nigâr, basît, Shâhâna, and Suhîla.(5)

It is useless to enter here into the technical niceties of music or to try to establish the identity of all his inventions, but there is no doubt that the popular melodies qaul

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(1) Ragdarapan fol. ; Hayât-i-Khusrau p. 72. See, however, 'Notices on Persian Poets', XXII, where 'Naik' Gopal is said to have lived in Akbar's time.

(2) See Qirân-us-Sa'dain p. 163 seq.; I'jâz-i-Khusravi R.II, p. 280 seq.

(3) See Nuh Sipihr; I'jâz-i-Khusravi R. II, p. 288.

(4) See I'jâz-i-Khusravi (R. II, p. 180 seq.), where he mentions the arrival of the musicians from Khorasan and invites Indian musicians to compete with them, so that the "dove-pigeons of Balâ may know how the Indian birds sing."
کوتا درست شود قمریان بالارا: کہ مرغ چون شنوداندر بہار ہندوستان!

(5) Ragdarapan; cf. Shibli II, p.

and ghazel were first introduced into Indian music by Khusrau. Qawwâls all over India recognise him to be their master, even to-day.

Khusrau's innovations, however, were not universally acclaimed. His independence of thought and love of things new had led him to break away from the old traditions and to form a schismatic school which has always been looked down upon by the supporters of the classical system.(1) To any impartial lover of music, nevertheless, the change would seem healthy and pleasant. It is a pity, indeed, that no more men of Khusrau's calibre were born in India to drag her music out of the old pool stagnant with ages.

The invention of the sitâr, again, has been so persistently ascribed to Khusrau that it is now generally accepted to be a fact beyond doubt. The sitâr, originally meaning a three-stringed instrument,(2) is, of course, a simplified form of the old Indian instrument Vîna which is said to have been invented by Mahâdeo himself,(3) and might at any time have been evolved in India. Khusrau's age would, perhaps, seem to be a time particularly suited for this evolution. But unfortunately I have been unable to trace the name 'sitâr' anywhere in Khusrau's writings, although there are pages full of the description of the various instruments used in his time. Nor does any of his contemporary, or even of later writers, mention

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(1) See Wâjid 'Ali Shah's 'Saut-ul-Mubârak', p. 42 seq. He describes Khusrau as a 'nâyik' of Khayâl as opposed to that of Dhurpad, and his disciples as Khayâlis. According to him Khusrau invented the tunes known as Tarâna, Chhand, Parband, gît, qual, qilbânah, naqsh and gul. See also Am-i-Akbari, Text II, 138-39.

(2) It has now generally seven strings.

(3) Others ascribe its invention to Nared, the mythological son of Brahma and Saraswati. See Asiatic Researches, III, p. 67. For a description of the instrument see ibid, I, p. 295, seq.